

INSIDE: Exclusive—an uncensored report from Grenada

# Maclean's

NOVEMBER 7, 1983

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

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## WASHINGTON'S GUNBOAT GAMBLE



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COVER

Washington's gunboat gamble  
In a gesture strike, U.S. and allied troops stormed Grenada. President Reagan defended the intervention by arguing that an Oct. 15 coup had threatened American lives. But by week's end it became clear from the prolonged fighting and worldwide opposition that the taking of the tiny island would be difficult and costly.  
—Page 24

CONTRAST BY STEPHEN SHAWHORN



Fury after the terror

While U.S. and French soldiers dug their fallen comrades out of the rubble in Lebanon, their leaders debated the value of keeping them in the area.  
—Page 22



Trudeau's one-man quest  
Pierre Trudeau heads for Europe next week with a new mission trying to rescue deteriorating East-West relations and promote disarmament.  
—Page 18



A continent-wide drought  
From the fringes of the Sahara desert to Zimbabwe on the south, much of Africa is suffering from the ravages of the worst drought of the 20th century.  
—Page 18

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Gods from Olympus

Arianna Stasiopoulos and Robert Kirby have collaborated on a new coffee-table book, *The Gods of Greece*—and tried to make them human.  
—Page 45



## Reagan's new risks

Last week was the riskiest seven days of President Ronald Reagan's White House career. For one thing, after the tragedy in Lebanon, which killed hundreds of Americans, he publicly pledged that he will not withdraw the marine peacekeeping force until that country achieves a political settlement. In doing so, he has closed off virtually all acceptable avenues of retreating from that murderous nation with any degree of dignity when the inevitable realization dawns that peace is years, and thousands more lives, away.

Then he set another farce of marines into the tiny island of Grenada to prevent what he declared was an imminent invasion by Cuba. At the same time, U.S. advisers are fighting furiously to prop up weak, pro-American governments in Central America.

The threat to Grenada may well have been a real one. But the might of the United States' military machine is finite. And Reagan's ability to control events wherever they happen in the world is also limited. What the president means now do, if he is truly interested in working toward a more stable and rational world, is define, for the first time since he took office, precisely what the United States' foreign policy interests are and limit the exercise of his power to those areas that are vital and capable of benefiting from U.S. involvement. Grenada is clearly not one of those regions. As a result, Reagan can—and should—withdraw his forces and allow a Commonwealth peacekeeping force to replace them. As Bertrand Marlesin's Washington *Chief*, Michael Foster, commented from Bridgetown: "Grenada is a member of the Commonwealth. A Commonwealth force there would be both adequate and appropriate."

**Portrait:** an appropriate force

*Karen Dayle*

Marlesin's *Newsletter* T, 1983

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## PASSAGES

**ENGAGED AGAIN.** Mary Tyler Moore, 36, is heartily surprised! Robert Lewellen, 36, Moore, perhaps best known for her role as the almost too-care-to-be-trite television newsroom producer on the *Mary Tyler Moore Show* (1970-77), was previously married to Grant Tinker, 57, formerly the president of NBC Enterprises and now chief executive officer of NBC. Moore and Lewellen have set the date for late November at New York's Hotel Pierre.

**DEEDS.** Jessica Savitch, 36, NBC-TV anchorman, and New York Post Vice-President and General Manager Martin Fleischman, 36, who dreamed when their car apparently ran off the road, flipped upside down and plowed into the limestone cliff near New Hope, Pa. Savitch, one of the best known TV weather forecasting newscasters, wrote and reported for the Saturday night edition of the NBC "Nightly News," reported as the 1976 and 1980 presidential campaigns and contributed to Prime Time Saturday, a weekly television magazine. She also wrote an autobiography, *Anchorman*, published in 1982.

**DEATH.** The seventh Earl Craven, Thomas Robert Vaughan Craven, 86, by a self-styled "gentleman weasel," in Beaumaris, England. Craven apparently shot himself because of an ancient curse that he believed had doomed all the males of his family to die young. News of Craven's direct ancestors since the 17th century reached the age of 60. The earl's only son is illegitimate, so his brother, Sir Hugh George Craven, 22, will inherit the ill-fated title.

**DEED.** Tamara Shayne, 30, has become best known for her role as Al Johnson's mother in *The Johnsons* and *John from Agars*, of a heart attack, in Los Angeles. Shayne, who emigrated to the United States in 1928, appeared on Broadway in such plays as *The Cherry Orchard*, and in 1938 she made her film debut in *Minotabe*, starring Greer Garson.

**CONVICTED.** James W. Lewis, 22, who sent a letter to the makers of *Death Wish* demanding \$1 million to stop a series of bizarre murders last year, of exhibition, by a U.S. district court jury in Chicago. Seven people in the Chicago area died after they swallowed Extra-Strength Tylenol capsules laced with cyanide. Lewis has been twice charged with the actual murders, which officials said last week. He faces a maximum sentence of 20 years in prison and a \$10,000 fine, and he is already serving a 10-year sentence for a May 21 mail-bombing campaign in Kansas City.



Victoria protest: demands of reopener

While there is plenty that is cheap about our particular provincial government, chapter II is not. ("There is no easy way to get off people," Cover, Oct. 17). This year's budget is 13-per-cent higher than last year's. Bennett is the manager of re-creating the English language. He claims he "tried to reduce government expenses" when in fact he tried to take all government spending away from the public sector and transfer them to Victoria, and he succeeded in reducing the task of planning from the Regional District to the hands of right-wing Victoria. Bennett's usual regulation? What nonsense. Since when is an arbitrary government social revolution?

—GARTH J. WOODWARD  
Vancouver

Restrain, the current buzz word of the government of British Columbia, is perhaps the most ridiculous and triteless word used to banish the electors of this province. The single fact is that the costlier of Blue-and-Green retires speak fraudulently when its own spending exceeds 7% per cent. It has been said that the actual savings accrued in reviving the public service in this so-called restraint package will amount to a mere fraction of this spending. Any sensible government would first of all spend on its business projects before forcing more to tax citizens and unemployment insurance.

We can see day that the circus ride show we elected on May 5 was given a mandate for restraint. The 75 per cent of those polled in the Vancouver districts who disagree with the methods being used by the government may well be saying that the government was not given a mandate for reviving the social

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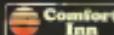
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contract of the province (Respecting the social contract, Business Watch, Oct. 17). The interpretation of that mandate by the BC government is not one of restraint; it is effective dismantling of the government apparatus, used by this government on passage of budget bills, has made a mockery of the word "democracy." If the mandate were correctly interpreted as one of restraint, 30,000 angry and concerned citizens would have marched in the streets of downtown Vancouver on Oct. 15.

—R.W. STEPHENS,  
Vancouver

Your articles on the British Columbia legislation failed to mention the sexism inherent in the package. Women, already disadvantaged economically, have been the majority of those "internalized." Present or projected cuts in education and social services affect these programs which benefit women most: family support workers, Vancouver Treatment House, senior citizen centre, geriatric consulting, the Women's Health Collective, day care, medical treatment for sexually abused children who have yet to respond to foster placement. Planned Parenthood, education in gender and finally our human rights protection.

—S.J. KENNEDY,  
North Vancouver

William Bennett's legislation is much more than simply a matter of "scrimping government fat" and "telling off people." In effect, Bennett is commanding his fellow British Columbians to pay for the recession, not only through our thwarted careers and unrealized expectations but through social policies that will erode the basic rights Canadians have worked for decades to institutionalize. Bennett has taken the government away from its professed role as a mediator of conflicting social values and turned it instead into a body whose sole purpose is to brutally implement the will of corporate and financial interests. Eastern Canadians beware! Peter C. Newman is not entirely wrong in describing William Bennett as a crusader and prophet (Respecting the social contract, Business Watch, Oct. 17). Bennett could indeed be the herald of a new era in Canadian politics. If Bennett succeeds, the new era will consist of the harsh and unrestrained rule of financial giants over a citizenry that has been stripped of institutional channels of redress.

—DANIEL BILLIARD,  
Vancouver

## In reply to a vocal minority?

For once it is refreshing to read of a politician who is willing to look beyond his nose to a time after his term. It is often in

order to decide what is best for the people (Respecting the social contract, Business Watch, Oct. 17). The interpretation of that mandate by the BC government is not one of restraint; it is effective dismantling of the government apparatus, used by this government on passage of budget bills, has made a mockery of the word "democracy." If the mandate were correctly interpreted as one of restraint, 30,000 angry and concerned citizens would have marched in the streets of downtown Vancouver on Oct. 15.

—HARRY A. DEWEESE,  
Vancouver, Ont.

## A controversial priest

I refer to your Oct. 17 issue wherein you published an interview with Rev. Andrew M. Greeley. (A question of sex and the single priest, Q&A) I think he is a very poor representative of the Catholic priesthood. If Greeley is correct in what he says, what may I talk over happened to purity, sanctity, chastity, still just taking up one little item that he touches on in the interview, he states, "Sex has become a civil right because the church has permitted itself to be preoccupied with it." I have no news for Greeley, the command of chastity is given by the church, the Magisterium. In the last instance, in that it is man who is preoccupied with sex and it was man who intended artificial birth control as an aid to allow for pleasure without the necessary responsibility. The church simply intervened to say wait a minute, this is contrary to God's Law and we therefore sinful. —CHARLES SHEA,  
Dallas, Tex.

As a Catholic woman not much past 40 years of age who knows many other Catholic women under 40, I am surprised at Rev. Andrew M. Greeley's statements. Does he really think that Catholic women feel they "are being treated as little girls"—and do these feelings rise from their wish to be ordained? Greeley does not think very well—our opinion anyway. He seems not to have taken a view of poverty and he does not seem to have learned to provide proof to back up his antisexual statements. —CLAUDETTE DOLLER,  
Scarborough, Ont.

## Remembering Lester properly

Your recent *Vancouver column* honoring the Bentle (needlessly mentions John Leeson's involvement by name [Oct. 10]). The intent of the article is to inform your readers with the events surrounding the one lesson being handed to the Bentle. What this contributes meaningful enough that his name now should

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be continually burned into the memory of all Beetle fans? Let's forget him so that we can remember the good that Lennox left.

—ROBERT WAKUTE  
Vancouver

## A doctor's protection

I had to chuckle when reading the article Doctor and the spectre of malpractice (Medicine, Oct. 10). The fact that private insurers offering malpractice insurance are subject to an upper limit was compared unfavorably to the CDA's (Canadian Medical Protective Association) offering an open-ended obligation to its members. What was not said is that the CMPA's ability to pay those open-ended obligations is conditioned upon the availability of funds. In April, 1983, the CMPA sent a circular to all its members advising them that the current fee to cover members' expenses relating to work performed in 1983 should have been \$145 higher than it was and that members in 1983 alone should have paid a further \$166 each to cover inadequately funded claims from previous years. This adds up to a shortfall of \$111 per member in 1983. This makes the perceived benefit of the CMPA's open-ended obligation questionable at best and suggests that Canadian doctors might be well advised to look to private insurers for protection.

—DENIS J. MILLINGTON,  
Ottawa

Year Doctor and the spectre of malpractice contained an error in stating that the CDA will get set aside cases out of court. Readers who have malpractice claims that should be paid but who are reluctant to cause their doctors the embarrassment of court action should know that the association has settled some cases out of court.

—LETHIE EATON,  
Montreal, Que.

## Give other cultures a chance

This is regarding the article Manitoba's fight over French (Canada, Oct. 2). Manitoba is a multicultural, not a bilingual society. We must give the other cultures in Manitoba a chance. German, Ukrainian, Icelandic, Chinese, we, etc., just as important cultures as French. Who is to say which should be the official second language of the province? Is it the group that speaks out the most or loudest, the group with the most members or the group with the strongest culture?

—HEATHER DABROCKI,  
Whitchurch, Ontario

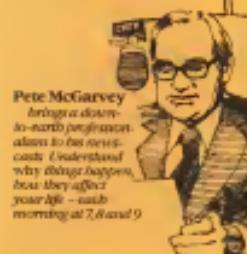
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## Pakistan's positive plans

Your report "New designs on democracy" (World, Sept. 12) ignores the positive aspects of President Bhutto-Haq's plan to return Pakistan to the path of democracy by March 1988. I deem it necessary to draw your attention to the following facts: that plan, which is favored by a consensus in the country, is also designed to ensure that the tradition of peaceful transfer of power is established on solid foundations. In his announcement, the president has laid down a timetable for installing local bodies, provincial and federal assemblies under the 1973 constitution. A few minor amendments should not be confused with redefining the constitution. The proposed amendments are only designed to strike a balance of power between the offices of the president and the prime minister. To ensure that these amendments are democratically approved, the president has said it is mandatory that the new elected federal legislature would be free to accept or reject the amendments. In the past years President Bhutto-Haq's government has enjoyed wide popular support during which it served the country with integrity and dedication.

—MAHSHID DEHN  
Press Attaché,  
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## Defining illiteracy fairly

Your Education article "Teaching literacy to non-readers" (Sept. 20) gives an definition of illiteracy as those with less than a Grade 9 education. This is a ridiculous, arbitrary level and one which would leave me with just a year to spare. Many of us who had to leave school early for economic or other reasons have largely taught to educate ourselves through much reading and through constant association with people who have a more formal education. I have two books to my credit, along with hundreds of articles and columns, and currently produce and host a daily radio show. No doubt the illiteracy situation is serious, but a better measuring stick should be found.

—ANNE HOPKINS  
Rivervale, N.J.

## A linguistic tower of babel

Answer to Shirley Bachelder's response to Myriam Tanguay's letter of Sept. 5 (Language rights for all), Letters, Oct. 10: Multilingualism without the solid basis of a core culture (as in the United States) has the makings of a modern version of the tower of babel: a Canada-wide, one-story structure with a self-destruct mechanism in place and ready to go.

—SALVATORE TESTA  
Broad Valley, B.C.

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# Inside Cuba's jails

**A** year ago Cuban Premier Fidel Castro released poet Armando Valladares from jail, where he had spent 22 years as a political prisoner charged with counter-revolutionary activity—he had publicly criticized Castro's increasing dependence on the Soviet Union. His release followed a long diplomatic campaign by French President François Mitterrand and years of lobbying by Valladares' wife, Monta López, and by human rights organizations around the world. For the past year, Valladares, 47, has lived in Paris, working on his memoirs, which are scheduled to be published in the spring of 1984. Maclean's correspondent Charles Gagnéfield talked with Valladares in Paris.

**Maclean's:** What are the main characteristics of the Cuban penal system?

**Valladares:** Violence, which includes solitary confinement and isolation, a denial of correspondence and visits with family members, a lack of medical attention, a denial of food for extended periods and beatings—ranging from the most physical to the most refined

are construction workers. Maclean's: How would you define a political prisoner in Cuba?

**Valladares:** A political prisoner is someone who commits an offense independently, is accused of committing any kind of violation of the established order. Many of the crimes that were formerly termed "political" under [former president Fulgencio] Batista are now considered "common" because so many political prisoners would create a negative image abroad. Of course, the mixing of both political and common prisoners is especially cruel for the political prisoner, since he is often placed in the same cell with murderers and thieves.

**Valladares:** It is a hierarchical system.

The prisons of Havana alone have about

48,000 prisoners, and there are at least 368 official prisons on the island. The hardest ones are at the top of the structure. There there are barracks-like concentration camps similar to those of the Soviet Union—tropical gulags with long stretches of buildings, guard towers, barbed wire, machine-guns and dogs. There, hundreds of men and women are kept in cramped conditions. Next there are prisons or rural work camps. And finally there are the freestates—mobile prisoners who move from one government construction site to another. When tourists see these prisoners, they just assume they

are construction workers. Maclean's: Many times I had beatings on my face, I was blackened with ribs and struck on the skull—I will have the scars—and isolated for years.

**Maclean's:** In 1975 your legs were left paralyzed after authorities denied you food for 45 days. Still, when you were released that October, you walked off the plane in Paris. How do you explain that?

**Valladares:** As of August, 1981, I was

placed in a two-room, windowless cell.

I had orthopedic therapy that was

very intensive. Eventually I regained

the use of my legs. I was also given

proper meals. My family knew nothing

about it—there was a total news

blackout. As a result, the Castro govern-

ment made effective use of the ele-

ment of surprise. People were expecting

to see me in a wheelchair, and I came

out walking. The government knew all

along it was going to release me and

planned my rehabilitation as effective counterpropaganda.

**Maclean's:** Your poetry was smuggled out of Cuba and published in the United States, France and Spain. Were you given special treatment as a result of that recognition abroad?

**Valladares:** Yes. There were reprisals against not only me but my family. The authorities used physical force to make my mother and sister write letters denouncing us as an enemy of the Cuban people. The authorities showed me the letters while I was in solitary confinement. My sister was also harassed by a colonel in the secret police Maclean's: Is there still torture among the Cuban people?

**Valladares:** Of course! But they cannot overtly express their discontent. Raul Castro, Fidel's brother and defense minister, admitted in a December, 1978, interview in *Globosa*, the official Communist newspaper, that the Cuban people did not want to work. He said that in the fields, for example, six men did the work of four. And that there were thousands of hours lost because of slack activity in the factories and workshops. The Cubans were told false statistics to compensate for the loss of productivity in agriculture and industry. Raul Castro spoke of sabotage in the workplace. This is hardly surprising because food still continues to be rationed

24 years after the revolution. **Maclean's:** The close relationship between the Soviet Union and Cuba seems to be the direct result of the United States' attempt to break Cuba through economic blockade. Does the blockade hurt Cuba?

**Valladares:** The United States is the only major capitalist country that does not trade with Cuba. But Cubans very easily buy anything it wants from Canada, France, Britain or Sweden. In fact, the Cuban government would have a lot of explaining to do if its people of the blockade stopped since the economy would hardly improve. Now it uses the scapegoat, a whipping horse for the internal and external problems. All the talk about Cuba not having proper medicine, because of the blockade in nonsense—they would buy it from any European country.

**Maclean's:** What does your release mean on a deeper, personal level?

**Valladares:** It is irrefutable proof that a worldwide campaign of public opinion can make a totalitarian regime release its political prisoners. I am glad because communism is the political system that fears truth the most. It is a system built on lies. Only the ignorant and the gullible believe that people in all parts of the world still care the laws we hold dear in our Western civilization. ♦



Valladares: Torture and starvation

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SUNFT SPRINGS

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## COLUMN

# Movie launchings for politicians

By Charles Gordon

The American presidential primaries are still several months ahead, but some observers are saying that the most important event of the 1984 campaign has already happened. It happened Oct. 21, the day a movie called *The Right Stuff* opened across the continent. The movie is, in large part, about John Glenn, the first American to orbit the Earth. John Glenn went on to do a few other things. One of them was to get elected to the U.S. Senate. Another was to declare that he was running for the presidency of the United States. Now, just at a crucial time, comes a movie showing John Glenn as a hero.

Political analysts are not yet to thinking about such things. Politics is about philosophy, about policy, about political skills. More recently, that theory has been augmented somewhat to include advertising, money and press conferences on the tube. But, meow? The Silver Screen?

All of a sudden, it would matter how John Glenn is to be more precise, as actor portraying John Glenn—looked in a movie. Dismayed all the speeches and handshakes, the voting record and committee work. Was Glenn going to be a good guy or a bad guy? So the folks who paid \$40 to get in and whose backs were given free hotdoggy popcorn?

Political judgment flicks off. And sheikhs' voices戛然止 in *The Right Stuff* so the Tex Willer looks up which it was based? Was the *Wolf's* book faithful to the facts? Was the movie faithful to the facts? Name of that would suffice. In fact, it might not even matter whether Reagan had looked good or looked terrible. As one of the film's editors said, "Don't forget, it still could have turned out to be a bad movie, and bad movies have a way of making laughtracks out of everybody."

It turned out to be a good movie, a movie giving Americans someone they could root for. John Glenn, the astronaut who wouldn't let his colleagues fly into space without a window, who wouldn't let the vice-president of the United States lead a pack of reporters into his wife's house to comfort her on nationwide TV, who told his first press conference that "I just think God live in a country where the best and finest in a man can be brought out", who lectured his co-astronauts about playing around with space groupies, who said he was "tired and need of being around to those . . . darn bastards", who said he

was "100 per cent ready to win his orbital flight even though NASA warned him it wasn't likely considered about the reliability of the Atlas booster rocket, who bounced *The Right Stuff* of the *Republique* as his space capsule, in real danger of burning up, re-entered the Earth's stratosphere.

Every politician will want a movie. Movies are powerful, more powerful than newspapers, more powerful than television, more powerful, even, than exercise books, which many politically ambitious people had been considering until Oct. 21.

Now, it's true that John Glenn didn't actually ban *The Right Stuff* of the *Republique* as his space capsule came down. He has said that. And he has said that NASA never warned him that the Atlas was risky. But that's the wonderful thing about the movies. Who's going to remember, much less worry about all those petty details? They appear only in

**'Who will pay to see a movie about a president who spends his time riding horses and phoning winning locker rooms?'**

print, after all. Film is stronger. The people will leave the theater thinking only "What a man!" and "Where did I leave the car?"

The invasion of the movies into political life was apparent enough when Ronald Reagan was elected president. But that doesn't mean that Reagan will be able to fight off the movie John Glenn. No one has made a movie about Reagan's real life yet. And when they do, will anyone pay \$4.75 to see a movie about an actor who becomes president and spends his spare time riding horses and phoning the winning locker room?

Other Americans candidates face similar problems. Remember, it has to be a good movie. Would anybody go to see Mondale's movie—a movie about a man who became vice-president of the United States? Only two vice-presidents of the United States weren't born. One was Lyndon Johnson, who The Right Stuff has already planted firmly in the memory of the road that Johnson was a publicity-hogging bore. The other was Spiro T. Agnew.

George McGovern ran for president once and didn't win. No screwplay there. Alan Cranston? His only hope would be as Lance Cranston, clearing men's minds and shadowing John Glenn. All those people can do now is try desperately within the next couple of months to do something that a movie could be made about. Most of them are too old to be shot into space. Movies about divorce and alternative lifestyles, as they are called, often do well at the box office, but are not likely to enhance a politician's career. There are no Wild West things left to be done, and there isn't a politician around who can dance worth a . . . well, worth a dime.

In Canada, on the other hand, there is, I think, something, something intriguing. But he has already been elected many times and may no longer feel the need of a movie about him. He has got one and been defeated once, but has bounced back, much to the surprise of movie houses. The Rocky As others, who know? There may be a movie in Brian Mulroney but he may be able to succeed without one. There is no movie in Bradlee Stevens, only a title. *The Right Stuff*? A horse kick could be made about Bill Davis and his superlative experience—the Big Blue Machine that was running over screwing Liberals and New Democrats. The movie might be called *The Right Stuff*.

There is a John Turner movie, but it is the kind you see on your TV set, late at night and in black and white. He dances with Patricia MacLachlan, the music score, and nothing much happens after that. There has never been a released in Hollywood for script that claims in the beginning of a fitness superstar.

Of the remaining Liberal pretenders, only Jean Chretien has much of a story line. There is the Saskatchewan hopscotch, the painful entry into the English-only world of Ottawa politicos—all of this building up to the dramatic kitchen scene with Ray McMurray and Ray Romano in which the deal is worked out that brings Canada its *Charter of Rights*. Of the remaining Conservative pretenders, only Jeanne Sauvé has much of a story line. There is the Saskatchewan hopscotch, the painful entry into the English-only world of Ottawa politicos—all of this building up to the dramatic kitchen scene with Ray McMurray and Ray Romano in which the deal is worked out that brings Canada its *Charter of Rights*.

As for others who want to be Liberal leader in the distant future, Canada is only now beginning to choose its first astronauts. And there may still be lots of time before the next convention.

Charles Gordon is a columnist for the Ottawa Citizen.

# Trudeau's quest for peace

By John Hay

**P**ierre Trudeau has once again thrown himself into an attempt to rescue deteriorating East-West relations. But his plans remain far less clear than his purpose. In a carefully staged and promoted speech at the University of Guelph last week, the Prime Minister converted on the slide from dove to a dangerous nuclear stand-off. Thus he offered his services to try to defuse the conflict between the superpowers. But the only aspect of his message that he revealed was a round-trip plane ticket to the Soviet Union. He will travel there Nov. 8 to 11 through the capitals of France, West Germany, Belgium, Italy and Canada. Referring to the Grenada invasion and the Bay of Tonkin Korea Air Lines disaster, Trudeau said that his aim is to break the "unpleasant rhythm of crisis" that seems to govern East-West relations.

A similar public relations effort was under way at the same time at Galtord Manotick, the Ottawa River resort where NATO defense ministers who are in the alliance's strategic planning group met. The group's regular discussions dealing with weapons strategy—usually shrouded in secret. But last week, the ministers trumpeted what they called "the Montreal decision"—an agreement in principle to attach nuclear warheads now attached to short-range weapons in Western Europe. The reduction follows the cut of 1,000 warheads accomplished since 1979—weapons which have largely been replaced by lethally advanced conventional arms. The group reaffirmed NATO's plan to start deploying intermediate-range Pershing II and cruise missiles in Europe in December unless an arms treaty is reached with the Soviet Union. The "Montebello decision" appeared to be designed to counter the appeal of the peace movements in Europe, which have been opposing deployment, and the NATO announcement also conveniently complemented Trudeau's own renewed campaign for arms control.

The Prime Minister did not announce any specific policy proposals in his Guelph speech, although he officials insisted that he has already decided on several items. And although he has written to President Ronald Reagan about his plans, he has not yet received a formal reply. From Washington, apart from a relatively cool reaction from the



Trudeau: carefully staged with all the trappings of a major political event

state and defense departments, Trudeau did offer an elegant thesis on the erosion of détente—that period in the mid-1970s when the Cold War thawed with improved political and economic relations between Moscow and Washington. Detente, he said, was "high politics in action," in which elements of mutual respect coexisted with the search for advantages. With the loss of that impulse, and in the absence of high politics in the East-West relationship, it is not surprising that any shred of trust or confidence in the intentions of the sides appears to have faded as well.

Trudeau declared: "All remains well, this troubles me deeply, is much true of political craft and creativity directed at maintaining the interests of the other side. There is a disturbing complacency,

a readiness to adapt to the worse rather than exert influence for the better."

Reaching the heart of his argument, Trudeau said that complicity must be replaced by political will—and that military policy must serve that will. At most an aside, he suggested that the Soviet attack on the U.S. was a result of military power supplanting political power. Asked Trudeau: "Is the Soviet military system edging beyond the reach of the political authorities? Are we contributing to such a trend by the absence of regular contact with the Soviet leadership?"

Trudeau called for a restored political will among the allies. Then he picked up the railway metaphor contained in NATO's "two-track" strategy—a 1979 decision to pursue an arms control agree-

ment with Moscow while preparing to deploy cruise and Pershing II missiles if those negotiations fail. What is needed now, he said, is "a third rail through which might run the current of our broader political purposes, including our determination not to be intimidated." Otherwise, he continued, "the train for arms negotiations, like military strategy itself, is becoming ever more distanced from the political energy of the participants."

Exactly how he would help to achieve that Trudeau did not say. Instead, he announced that he had written to President Reagan and other world leaders, and that he will fly to Europe on Nov. 7 for his first shuttle among allied leaders. Officials refused to disclose what ideas Trudeau will take with him. Trudeau said that he will fly to Europe to "bolster our confidence" and that he will "not change the hard realities of superpower existence, nor should such goals give rise to illusions of influence beyond bounds that can only disappoint and confuse."

Dismantlement activists at the Guelph conference were more impressed. George Ignatieff, a former Canadian ambassador to NATO and the UN, called the speech "an important first step toward putting the superpower relationship on something more solid and sane than just weaponry." Conservative MP Douglas Baetz said he was surprised by the Trudeau speech, but he will awaiting results. "He has to be tested," he said. "He has made these speeches before." Former Liberal finance minister Walter Gordon said that Trudeau might have enough influence in the world to affect superpower relations

Belgium and Prime Minister Bruno Crans of Italy. None had replied by yesterday.

Elsewhere, reaction was mixed. At Montebello, U.S. Defense Secretary Casper Weinberger said that he had not had time to read the Prime Minister's speech and British Defense Secretary Michael Heseltine sounded doubtful. "This is not an unbroken path," he said of Trudeau's intended course. For his part, Opposition Leader Brian Mulroney said that the Soviets do not respond to "globalized messages" and he added, "Our pride in Canada should not obscure the hard realities of superpower existence, nor should such goals give rise to illusions of influence beyond bounds that can only disappoint and confuse."

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Gordon added that during a visit to Moscow last July he learned that Trudeau is "the one Western leader they have respect for." New Washington will review the Trudeau initiative in late June. Gen. Brett Bowron, Reagan's adviser on the issue, is unable to be based in the United States, so he expects that the administration will be "cautious and skeptical" about the Trudeau plan.

The questions and dangers of nuclear weapons have concerned Trudeau recently for more than 20 years. In 1952, before he entered the Commons, Trudeau was Lester Pearson's Liberal for agreed-in station nuclear weapons on Canadian soil. Six years later, one of the earliest foreign policy acts of the first Trudeau cabinet was the announcement that the Canadian Forces would no longer be armed with nuclear weapons. Later still, at the first UN special session on disarmament in 1978, Trudeau delivered a widely acclaimed plan for a "softening" of the arms race by curtailing research and development of new weapons.

Trudeau was already disturbed by the deadlock in Soviet-U.S. arms talks, and he was further alarmed by the Soviet attack on the Korean airliner in September. That event signified to him that a nuclear war could be started "not by the people in the Kremlin, but rather, by some accident of some place." Dissatisfied with Canada's limited contributions to the international arms control debate, Trudeau then set up a fire-breather task force later that month. That group is headed by Louis Delvoie, director general for international security and arms control at External Affairs, and includes two members of Trudeau's staff: foreign affairs advisor Robert Fowler and Principal Secretary from Assembly, the top Liberal operative in Trudeau's office.

As for the peace movement, the principal charge against Trudeau has been his decision to allow the U.S. Air Force to test its air-launched cruise missile in the Canadian North. The Prime Minister has always claimed that the decision is intended to support NATO's two-track deployment of ground-launched cruise missiles in Europe. These tests could well be a kind of face to hand fight in Washington on the subject of arms control. With Trudeau now well launched on his dismantlement campaign, Canadians will eventually learn whether these does have retarded fair value. ♦

Wolfgang (left), NATO Secretary-General Joseph Luns; MacKinnon; Trudeau path



# Manitoba's resounding 'non'

By Susan Riley

As Robert, president of the Société francophone manitobaine, tried to put a face forward on the divisive results of last week's election in Manitoba, "We're not satisfied, we're not what anyone says," the English teacher told cheering supporters. Yet the returns were in sharp contradiction to his claim. By margins of 3 to 1 in Winnipeg and 16 to 1 in more rural areas, Manitobans overwhelming rejected the amendment of French language rights in the province. Declared departing Winnipeg City Councillor Frank Johnson, a lawyer and supporter of language rights: "I do not see how this can be interpreted as anything but a major setback for Franco-Manitobans."

The results may also prove to be a setback to Premier Flora Pawley's New Democratic Party government. Although the 16 planks are not legally binding, the votes clearly show that vast numbers of Manitobans disagree with the Pawley government's language policy. And last week Attorney General Roland Perner admitted that he might make changes to the province's controversial language plan before January. "We are not dead to the results," he said.

Perner and Pawley, old law school friends, insistently played the province into the present bitter dispute last May when they proposed entrenching certain language guarantees for Franco-Manitobans in Canada's new Constitution. By doing so, they hoped to avert a ruling pending from the Supreme Court of Canada that could have led to even more far-reaching and costly consequences for Manitobans.

In 1981 Roger Bokisch, a Winnipeg lawyer, asked the court to rule on the legality of an English-only spending limit which the police had imposed to ban Bilingualism because that became a section 195 Supreme Court ruling, the action was thrown out. In that case, the court struck down at 1986 act that made Manitoba officially English and thus removed the majority of all English-only provincial laws passed in the past six years. Pawley and the possibility of more legal challenges of the government's decision ordered Manitoba to translate all of its 4,500 statutes. Pawley, the federal government, Bokisch and the Société francophone manitobaine agreed in May to a compromise. Bokisch would postpone his Supreme Court case and in return the government would withdraw and extend French language services in courts, the legislature and some provincial government offices and guarantee the translation of about 600 provincial laws into

French. The proposed amendment also makes French an official language of Manitoba.

The pact—in the form of a constitutional resolution—would probably have slipped quietly through the legislature except for protests raised by outgoing Tory Leader Starting Lyon and maneuver-

French got rights they never had."

Does sound Pawley of being "completely surprised" by Ottawa as the language issue. But Lyon stated that he personally is anti-French—or that Manitoba is a racist province. Even Leo Robert agreed that Manitoba "is a very accepting society," but he said that Lyon and others had misinterpreted the "francophones' case." And Michel Gauthier, a bilingual member of parliament from Repentigny, helped Robert lobby for support, phoned 1,300 Manitobans before the vote and recruited many a couple of hours sessions. "People are not against bilingualism," said Gauthier.

They are against French being forced on them, but that's not the issue at all."

Still some Manitobans, such as federal Tory MP Dan McKeon, a longtime foe of bilingualism, claimed to detect a French-Liberal plot behind the Manitoba language resolution. "Manitobans are afraid of [Secretary of State Serge] Jeune's policies, which are aimed at making this country as French outside Quebec as it is now in Quebec," declared McKeon. For Frank Johnson, such as attitude showed how "the virtual bankruptcy of the federal Liberals and their approach to bilingualism has spilled over into the Manitoba situation."

Last week even Perner admitted that the government had not presented its proposal well. Despite his promise that only three per cent of civil service jobs—roughly 400 out of 13,000—would be designated bilingual, a general fear that bilingualism would spread to isolated School boards and municipalities—even in backwoods non-French areas of southwestern and northwestern Manitoba where few French sermons would be instituted—prepared for a linguistic upheaval. The tiny village of Woodlawn, 40 km south of Winnipeg, voted 1,200 to 20 against entrenching French language rights, even though there are hardly any French speakers in town. Three other cities Johnson explained that most of the councillors feel that "it is only a matter of time before someone steps in here and demands French service."

To add to the confusion, Winnipeggers grappled with a lengthy question on the plank that needed a "yes" vote from those opposed to language rights—a "no" vote from those in favor. For nurse Patricia Frutkin, 36, who supported entrenchment, the issue proved confusing. "It is amazing Winnipeggers look like a bunch of idiots," she declared at a polling booth. "When you listen to the national news, Winnipeg is the laughingstock of the nation."

In Ottawa, federal politicians were clearly disappointed with the plank results. Jim Flaherty dismissed the vote as largely meaningless and he said that as sensitive an issue as language rights

should never be decided by plebiscite. But in Quebec City, for one, the results of a language plebiscite were not unanticipated. Appearing before the provincial government's legislative committee studying possible changes to Quebec language laws, Gilles Rheaume, head of the nationalist Société St-Jean-Baptiste de Québec, said that a province's ability should be observed when the Manitoba results become public. "On this day we have another demonstration of what is happening in North America to our people that we cannot protect," he declared. "I launch an appeal to all in this day to reflect on what happened to our brothers and sisters in Manitoba and to ask all those who say they love us to share their solidarity in a moment of crisis." Immigration Minister Gerald Godin, who has been criticized for authorizing the Franco-Manitoban issue a "first" status, agreed to Rheaume's request. Perhaps sensing that the overwhelming rejection by Manitobans as the plank itself did prove that the issue had been a lost cause, the legislative committee observed about 30 seconds of silence before getting back to work. But in Manitoba, Robert said, he was pleased that almost 50 per cent of voters in Winnipeg supported entrenchment when only one per cent of the population is francophone. "It is progress," he declared.

For his part, Perner is considering changing the language resolution to accommodate widespread fears about the costs and nature of bilingualism. His goal still is to present the resolution to the legislature before Dec. 31. The attorney general is also under some pressure to extend second-language guarantees to other ethnic minorities—also a potentially controversial process.

At the same time, the Franco-Manitobans have threatened to withdraw their support from the government's resolution if, in Robert's words, "they change one word" with respect to French language rights. If that happens—and it now appears likely—the whole question will be issued back to the Supreme Court, and that could be a long, costly and cumbersome procedure. It will also mean that the Pawley government has failed to find a political solution to a crucial provincial issue.

In magazine newspaper advertisements paid for by the Société just before the plebiscite, Robert, already sensing defeat, expressed respect for those who would vote "yes" or "no." He said that "this will be the last referendum on any issue that would divide our community and force friends and neighbours to take sides against one another." That is a pitch which most Manitobans would now likely endorse fervently.

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With Andrew Milne in Winnipeg

Rosa (centre) with companion delegates: an intellectual approach to labor issues

## A new leader for a new CUPE

**T**he election last week of a new president of the nation's largest union, the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE), left no doubt that the 20-year-old union's tradition of new ascendancy through the ranks by extrapolating its leadership. Indeed, Rosa's victory, by a narrow vote of 690 to 600 over the union's 65-year-old secretary-treasurer, Kasley Cummings, was more like a sweep than an election.

Rosa, after just 7½ years in office and less than three years as head of Local 79 in Toronto, replaces retiring retiring Grace Hartman, 55, who led the union for 18 years. In assuming the \$100,000-a-year post, it is not only replacing Cummings, Hartman's choice as her successor and a candidate with 35 years experience in trade unions, but she also set the tone for a new course. Rosa's election was a victory for a new breed of CUPE member younger, better educated and no longer willing to accept the guidance of the old guard. The president displayed that new style almost immediately by announcing that he will travel to British Columbia this week, where 30,000 CUPE members are enrobed in a battle over Prime Minister Wilf Martin's massive restraint program (page 22). "That is where the spearhead of government repression is now," he declared.

Rosa brings several rare qualifications to the job. After studying political economy, he received a degree from the Lester School of Economics and also holds a master's degree in industrial relations from the University of Western Ontario. He managed to enter the presidency during the miners' strike, reported and the endorsement of Ontario New Democratic Party Leader Bek Rosa. Of the two who often uses Manitoba to illustrate points at union meetings, Rosa, a former classroom, says, "He is intellectual in the very best sense."

Rosa will have to call upon all of his personal resources and the support of the membership to put his campaign platform in place. Cummings told delegates, "What we need is more of the same. There will be dramatic shifts." But Rosa emphasized the need for change. In his final address to the union, Hartman urged support of a class increase to help alleviate CUPE's \$12-million deficit, accumulated over the past two years. For his part, Rosa opposed the increases because he said that it would be unfair to part-time workers.

The first policy adopted by the union under Rosa's direction called for a shorter work week or year without loss of pay as a bargaining priority to combat threats to women's jobs. As well, Rosa signalled that CUPE will become more politically conscious by sending delegates to condemn the invasion of Grenada and demanding the withdrawal of US troops. But for the new look and its new leader, the first test will take place this week in British Columbia, and that test will serve as a crucible for both

—BARBARA RIGHETTO in Toronto



Down: fear of an imagined outcome?

New Democrat W.L. Russell Doorn, Doorn of Granada ancestry, represents the working-class, stickily mad Winnipeg riding of Elmwood. He said that Franco-Manitobans are "essentially well served" by government, already, compared to other ethnic groups that "make do with crabs." In a province composed largely of European immigrants and their descendants, Doorn clearly had a receptive audience. "These people came to Manitoba with nothing and survived," he said. "They do not think it is fair that the



Mackasey with wife, Margaret: only 'a humble difference from Verbal'

## Mackasey's day in committee

**F**or the past 1½ months, both a parliamentary committee and the courts have investigated Bryan Mackasey's flight to exile. Mackasey, 47, a single man, faced trial, although his judge ruled last August that there was "a shred of evidence" to justify sending Mackasey to trial on charges of influence peddling and an ongoing bribe, the former Liberal senator minister has never testified in his own defense. But last week, flanked by two lawyers, Mackasey finally appeared before the Commons privileges and elections committee—where he portrayed himself as an unattached "humble tramp from Verbal" wrung by artifice in a powerful newspaper, the Montreal Gazette. Mackasey claimed that The Gazette—which reported last March that he had been named as a paid lobbyist of a bankruptcy hearing “wrecked my life” and was probably responsible for the charges against him. Then he played the committee into an ethical dilemma, demanding that it ensure the Gazette for “flagrant abuse of the power and freedom of the press.”

Mackasey fully denied the Gazette report, and he couched that with a list of the personal problems caused by the article. The newspaper reported that witnesses at a bankruptcy hearing heard former Montreal Board of Trade president Robert Harriman identify Mackasey as a paid lobbyist and the owner of a numbered company. Last week Mackasey reaffirmed that he had made no representations to former supply and services minister Jean-Jacques Blais for the firm Les Ateliers d'usages Halt Lise, a Montreal machine tool firm which Harriman advised.

Testimony at the preliminary hearing last summer revealed that the man-

bered company 199000—owned by Harriman—borrowed \$400,000 from the Bank of Montreal in November 1982, to Mackasey's legal expenses, which had declined in value from \$600,000 to \$178,000. That \$400,000 loan was guaranteed by Montrealer Jean Desveaux, who owned Les Ateliers Halt. The \$400,000 was then paid back to the bank to partially cover Mackasey's \$25,000 loan (which he had borrowed to buy the studio). Senator Court Judge Romano Schiavone noted this that Mackasey had made a most voluntary business deal.

The committee avoided Mackasey's business dealings and concentrated instead on the handling of the case by The Gazette. The paper's former publisher, Robert McDowell, argued two weeks ago that the newspaper had a public duty to report that witnesses said Mackasey had been named in a court case as a paid lobbyist.

The divided committee met now to write a report which it will submit to the Commons for adoption. It has several options. It could conclude that Mackasey has been cleared of all wrongdoing and that The Gazette fulfilled its obligation. Conversely, the committee could ask the Commons to reprimand the newspaper. If that conclusion is reached, Mackasey has learned that The Gazette will appeal, using the Charter of Rights to argue that it did not have a fair trial because it could not cross-examine its accuser.

For his part, high-powered Toronto lawyer John Sopinka based Stinson's defense on his charitable and disengaged approach to finance. Indeed, Stinson testified that he had an aversion to taking care of personal finances; he had once forgotten to renew his driver's license, allowed insurance policies to lapse, and even delayed dental appointments to the point that he required one emergency just days before his trial.

What the case concludes, his Liberal colleagues may well question whether such a man would have had more success organizing the mining industry.

—BONNIE WAGNER

## The case of the forgotten \$28,000

**B**efore his short-lived 18-day stint as federal census minister in August, few Canadians had heard of Newfoundland Liberal MP Roger Symmons. But after his trial last week in St. John's on charges of wilful tax evasion and filing of false statements on tax returns, the nation was prey to embarrassing details of his confused private affairs. The step-upers were astounded with revelations of incompetence and chaos, and it ended with Symmons' admission that he was “incompetent” in handling his own affairs.

The case that prompted Symmons' resignation on Aug. 22 from the Trudeau cabinet raised serious questions about the screening of potential holders of high government office and the protection of Revenue Canada. And when Newfoundland Provincial Court Judge John Treadie at week's end reserved his decision on the case until Dec. 2, many observers concluded that Symmons will never achieve such a high profile again.

The private life he is so adamantly tried to protect began to unravel July 27 last year, when Revenue Canada investigators confronted him with evidence of sanguineous income Symmons' defenses last week that he got to claim income of \$80,000 between 1975 and 1978 did not impress Crown prosecutor Claude Wells. Symmons faced financial problems at the time, and in one year the unpartnered money represented 65 per cent of his annual income. Wells asked Symmons how large an amount it would take to jog his memory. “Would you remember, say, \$200,000 or \$1 million?” Symmons replied that because of his sketchy method of keeping records there was no guarantee that he would remember even large amounts. Wells told the court that there was such overwhelming evidence that she again began refuting food in later testimony to present against a three-year prison sentence. In answer to her condition stabilized—in the relief of federal Solicitor General Robert Kasius, who ordered the first involuntary feeding last July—it was clear that the slow emaciation of Mary Astafanoff had been postponed again.

Astafanoff's collapse could not have come at a more critical time. It occurred as federal and provincial officials were reaching a final agreement to release Astafanoff and two other hunger striking Dukhobors, Mary Brown, 55, and Tina Knouff, 58, from prison in the hopes of restoring peace to British Columbia's 6,000-member Dukhobor community. Bells they moved to southeastern British Columbia in the early 1900s, the three sisters—the Sons of Freedom, the Orthodox and the Eastern Dukhobors—have been involved in sporadic episodes of arson and destruction stemming from differing religious beliefs.

The prospects for the latest attempt at reconciliation, which involved a committee made up of representatives from the three sects, the RCMP and provincial and local officials, depend heavily on

—J.R. JONES



Dukhobor women tears and perhaps a portion for a fasting Mary Astafanoff

## Force-feeding to end a fast

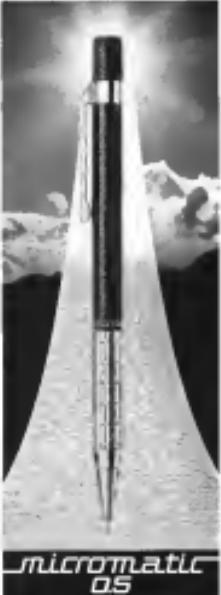
**W**hen federal prison officials at British Columbia's Minto Psychiatric Centre routinely examined a Dukhobor woman on a hunger strike last week, they quickly realized that the frail 68-year-old was deteriorating. Doctors who saw Mary Astafanoff, a member of the radical Sons of Freedom sect, and her 65-year-old son Ivan at Vancouver General Hospital about 90 km away there, hospital staff forced her off the bed to the toilet to make sure she again began refuting food in later testimony to present against a three-year prison sentence. In answer to her condition stabilized—in the relief of federal Solicitor General Robert Kasius, who ordered the first involuntary feeding last July—it was clear that the slow emaciation of Mary Astafanoff had been postponed again.

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—JANE O'HARA  
in Vancouver

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Protesters before the legislature - conciliatory gestures are a strike no-no.

## British Columbia on the edge

Suddenly, the prospect was real last week British Columbians moved perilously close to a public sector strike when the government prepared to fire 1,600 workers - the first mass layoffs under its controversial restraint program. As the Oct. 31 deadline for the dimmest approached, government and labor took turns insulting each other and making threats against strike. First, Premier William暮田 delivered an "Olive Branch" speech. Two weeks ago he appeared on television and promised to adjourn the legislature and delay passing controversial legislation to ratify social and human rights programs. The Solidarity Coalition, a broadly based alliance of community groups, had at least accepted the signal. Some of its representatives will meet with Social Credit cabinet ministers and press them to modify their restraint programs. But the B.C. Federation of Labour threatened to stage massive walkouts unless the government removed a bill giving public sector employees the right to fire any employee for economic reasons.

The looming Halloween layoffs were designed to coincide with the expiry date of a contract between the 40,000-member B.C. Government Employees' Union (BGEU) and the province. Even as the union moved toward a strike, the fate of the 1,600 workers threatened with dismissal remained at the core of the controversy. And 160,000 other workers prepared to join the strike: a sympathetic strike over the planned firings. For his part,暮田 noted that

some of those firings might be delayed to allow more time for conciliation talks.

But the B.C. Federation of Labour insisted that the government back down and agree to hire and fire workers on a strike sympathy basis. Declared Michael Kraemer, the federation's secretary-treasurer: "We stand behind workers who are negotiating settlements that dismiss the arbitrary power to fire public sector employees. That is the fundamental issue we must be dealt with by negotiation." Coupled James Dunlop, the government's provincial secretary: "Mike Kraemer wants confirmation. He's given us: He's got his plan in place, and it's draconian."

The Federation and the Solidarity Coalition do not accept Chafee's decision. Still, they are prepared to increase the pressure on the government with their "program of action." Scheduled to begin on Nov. 1, it calls for the province's 60,000 members to set up picket lines. Then the strike would widen slowly over the next two weeks with teachers, municipal workers, ferry operators, employees of Crown corporations, health care workers and nurses joining in at staggered intervals.

Bennett has countered the growing opposition by asserting that he wants to present British Columbians to world visitors as a province committed to restraint. But on the use of what could be a spectacular struggle, the message from British Columbians seemed instead to be that it is still a place where labor turnout is virtually dead, not just statutory. If the decision survives, McMurtry's

## A constitutional support for strikes

When the Ontario Supreme Court handed down its decision last week declaring the anti-strike and anti-bargaining provisions of the Ontario government's Incomes Restraint Act unconstitutional, the Ontario Public Service Employees Union (OPSEU) swiftly assessed a victory rally. But its place to pack Toronto's Bay Thomas Hall on Nov. 12 with 3,000 public sector employees from across the province may be premature said Ontario Attorney General Roy McMurtry: "The decision creates doubts about the validity [of such legislation] not only in Ontario statutes but in those of other legislatures in Canada."

Indeed, by week's end British Columbians and Alberta public employees unions had instructed their lawyers to file constitutional challenges against government curbs on their right to strike and to bargain collectively. Said British Columbia Federation of Labour President Arthur Kube, who is directing the court challenge against sections of the sweeping new B.C. Public Sector Restraint Act: "The Ontario decision gives us grounds to be very, very hopeful."

The Supreme Court handed down its decision more than a year after the Ontario government enacted its restraint program as part of Ottawa's So-called 1986 program. The act included clauses restricting bargaining rights, mandatory terms by which services would be provided, the right to strike from about 31,000 employees. The new restrictions expanded existing provisions to cover employers whose jobs are in any way paid for out of provincial government funds. Included in that group are about 31,000 secondary school teachers and employees at such institutions as the Royal Ontario Museum and the Ontario College of Art. But, Mr. Justice Dennis O'Leary in the court's 2 to 1 decision: "The denial of the right to bargain and strike over noncompensation matters cannot be justified as being reasonably necessary to control wage increases." And Mr. Justice Elmer Smith concluded that: "The freedom to associate - includes the freedom to negotiate, bargain collectively and, as necessary, to strike."

The decision is the first major ruling on the freedom of association guaranteed in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. As well, said Toronto lawyer Ethan Passuker, who helped prepare the OPSEU case, it was the "first decision that labor law rights are constitutionally based, not just statutory." If the decision survives, McMurtry's



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**NEW YORK LIFE**



# THE WEIGHT OF EMPIRES



Rescued student returns to Charleston, S.C.—the righteous have started to bump into one another

By Harold Jackson

**T**he vast grey bulk of the U.S. battleship New Jersey, at anchor off the coast of Lebanon, seems appropriately symbolic. The age of greatest diplomatic power has returned. The ship was taken out of mothballs and rehabilitated. It went back to sea with guns as sharp as ever, and of explosive steel at a target 30 km away. But there probably could not be more dramatic or humiliating than the sight of an invincible superpower being attacked by a bunch of 18-year-old guerrillas who had been trained in the forests of Russia. The vessel should probably have been renamed Furywhiz while they were refitting the past week.

President Ronald Reagan is only the most recent in a long historical procession of leaders convinced that they had the right—the duty even—to intervene in the best interests of another nation. Indeed, the urge to run other people's business is an apparently inassimilable hereditary factor in human society—and in its institutions. The Romans, Spaniards, Ottomans, British, Soviets and Americans have each in turn believed the missionary urge to shape the world as they think it ought to be. They have come clothed in shining armor, chomping peace, vigilance, progress and perfectly Googley Khan out his pony swash through Asia claiming he was advancing the divine call—such the same message that led the Ayatollah Khomeini to purge modern Islam.

Hegemonism is probably the least enviable of man's characteristics. But after centuries of transmission from one generation to the next, it has undergone a fundamental change. In the closing years of the 20th century it has lost much of its heroic and, still more, its practicality. Julius Caesar never had a second's doubt about his right to knock his legions

into battle. He saw the manifest superiority of Roman civilization as his passport to the world. Man's military and commercial priorities were the only rationale he needed to take other people's cities or farms. It would be a hard program to sell in the 21st century.

Technology has had a long run. But technology has expanded man's aspirations, and the righteous have started to bump into one another. If you laid down the law in your own village, it might not make you popular, but most people's preferences for the quiet life would get you by. Trying to lay it down in the next village—particularly if it already had a resident war—was more complicated. If the neighboring overlord walked around with a large club, that tended to set the limits of jurisdiction.

Realistic Hegemony runs the world like that from about 5000 bc onward, not necessarily the best possible system but one which nevertheless along is a sort of progress. The system gives us, among other benefits, the civilizations of China, Egypt, Greece and Italy. They had their ups and downs, of course, and it would be hard to argue that they represented the idealized sum of human happiness. For one thing, all of them rested on slavery, but man's lot was generally better for their existence.

The framework for this progress was empire, a reification of remarkable historic resilience. It was alive and well until 1945 and absolutely taken for granted so recently as the Versailles peace conference of 1919. There, the victorious allies demanded that they were establishing a world fit for heroes—but they signed the treaty in the Hall of Mirrors. Even in the 20th century empire will come when old European and Asian empires had that divine mission to protect the lesser breeds.

Fifty years on, it is hard to believe that politicians then

could not only talk of the white man's burden but that so few Englishmen did. In 1938 British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain could still seriously tell his people that the colonies he shepherded were "a fortunate majority of which we are the tribe" (and could therefore be managed by the Nazi man). What ever view his audience took of his politics, the members never thought to quarrel with his geography.

The reason was that it had grown up in a world that, if not peaceful, was certainly ordered. The map was neatly divided into the pink areas of the British Empire, the blue of the French, the green of Italy, and so on down the litany of imperialism.

But the lights went out all over Europe and with them the flame of empire, although it took another 20 years and an even more devastating war before the fact was acknowledged. All those huddled masses yearning to be free started coming into their own—along with the nuclear bomb and the space age. That new equation of aspiration and technology has brought about an profound a historical shift as any.

As usual, it has taken several decades for the message to sink in. Certainly, it has not gone home to the Kremlin or the White House. They persist in the quaint belief that a Big Power enjoys big power. They aspire to imperial certainty when it can no longer be maintained. They have spent billions keeping up with one another's military might, only to find that the ultimate badge to the new politics.

**Misguided?** If the United States changed the world with the Los Alamos nuclear explosion, the Soviet Union accompanied the transformation with the launch of Sputnik 1. The hydrogen bomb has short-circuited the military option, and the satellite has transformed geography. The ultimate sanction cannot be used, and there are no more faraway places.

For that reason, the superpowers have become amorphous—bound in a way that would have been utterly incomprehensible only a few decades ago. The image has been more nebulous than the missile. For a time, there was the age of surrogate agreements—not notably in the Middle East, Moscow and Washington supplied the weapons, Arabs and Israelis fought and died. But both often proved to be thoroughly unconvincing and uncontrollable assassins. An alternative route to the imperial dream lay through subversion, but that was unpredictable and could backfire nastily. The Americans do not care to remember the disastrous political reforms of their interference in Chile, or the Soviets the poor dividends of their Soviet investments.

If proxy wars were the disease of the 1970s, direct superpower intervention seems likely to prove to be that of the 1990s. Because, despite the rhetoric, most of the world is still as politically oriented as it was 40 years ago. The super-

powers' leaders are trapped by the politics of parasitism, which forces them to use all dry-grease as a potential frontier. The Russians want repeatedly interview when former Secretary of State George Shultz was naming the continuing conflicts. The Americans seem incapable of accepting legitimate resistance to modern freedom.

But the modern doctrinal struggle cannot be fought with the old imperial parades. Every move now has the world as spectator. It is hard to mount a parotid, as Reagan's cruise missile in the case of Grenada, preventive expedition with the Italian critical accolades, especially if a country is trying to show the wonderful benefits of its way of life.

There can be no more imperial triumphs because such glorified exposure is the death of majesty. Every empire in history has been a triumph of mystery over reality. None could not really police its vast dominion any more than the British could theirs. Like all other imperialists, it counted on the awe of omnipotence provided by certainty and distance—refined by an occasional peremptory display of ruthless vengeance.

**Awakened?** But as the Soviets struggle for year after frustrating year in Afghanistan, that awe is missing, because they do not supply their full might. If the Afghan guerrillas sustain their resistance, they may well win, because the invaders cannot afford the political price of victory. The world still cannot tell how deeply Reagan will eventually pay for invading Grenada, but it seems unlikely that the east will balance the dead in the cracked fingers of his administration. Even though it has brought a sensible and good-spirited alien, General Lebed, America's deepest suspicion, heightened public resistance to his dubious policies in Europe and also sent a significant segment of his domestic electorate.

In an apparent effort to deny the new realities (and in a strange echo of Roman attitudes to knowledge transmission), there is the growing tendency to exclude the audience. No reporters were allowed in with last week's US invasion team, the British were especially secretive during the Falklands invasion, and the Soviets hide for years tried to impose international restrictions on news coverage. But the superpowers might have more success in abolishing the wheel. If anything, stiffened secrecy is even more damaging than the act itself; everyone knows that something is being hidden.

The moral of the past seven days is simply that of the whole postwar era, despite the efforts of the mighty, they have inherited the earth. That inheritance may not be quite what they had hoped because, as the Bolsheviks always maintained, democracy is disorder. But the mighty are vulnerable because their might is rebound. They have repaid their just reward—they cannot use their power because they themselves cannot escape it. □



American guard Cuban prisoners: the imperial panacea



Advancing US column. 'It's a fight that has no precedent in the Caribbean and its peace is a precious commodity'

COVER

## Washington's gamble

By David North

**T**he helicopters left just before dawn. Carrying U.S. marines and commandos in full combat gear, the olive-green aircraft roared off the tarmac at Barbados' Grantley Adams International Airport, whirling off into the humid Caribbean night. Their eventual destination was the tiny, 100-square-mile island of Grenada. Their entire mission: to overthrow the military junta which ousted and on Oct. 19 exiled former prime minister Maurice Bishop, nowise roughly 1,000 Americans and British in government, susceptible to Washington and Grenada's Caribbean neighbors.

It was a meticulously planned and sees operation. At 3 a.m., two 60-strong assault teams of the elite "Sawtooth" team silently abeam after a short boat ride from the 15-vessel U.S. task force near the island. They had a three-pronged objective, outlined in a hawing aboard the helicopter support ship *Gulfstream* to capture the government radio station in St. George's, seize the safety of Grenadian Gov. Gen. Sir Paul Scoon,

a key figure in any future political process, and clear any Cuban or Grenadan army patrols from the large Point Salines International airfield, under construction in the island's southern tip. As hours later, with their drop zone relatively secure, 700 U.S. marines descended onto the island. At the same time, the helicopters landed 400 U.S. marines at the smaller northern airfield of Pearls. A 300-strong contingent from the Eastern Caribbean island nations accompanied the Americans.

Maurice Bishop knew the two-phased assault seemed his first objective—the airports. The Marines since seized the St. George's University School of Medicine campus, where hundreds of American students had been isolated with deviling food and water ever since Bishop's murder. Then, 800 troops of the crack U.S. 82nd Airborne Division flew for a major clearing of resistance elsewhere on the island. They were already meeting stiff opposition. As John Venner Jr., chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, conceded later, "We got a lot more resistance than we expected." Indeed, according to the White House, the

Cuban presence on the island was nearly double U.S. intelligence estimates of 600 engineers and laborers at Point Salines and a few dozen military advisers in Spanish. Larry Speakes estimated that the Cuban contingent had swollen to a modest engineering unit—1,000 men, under the command of a full colonel.

These forces, more heavily armed than expected, fought back with Revolte-made AK-47 rifles and antiaircraft weapons, and large numbers of Grenadan militiamen supported them. As experts expected the movement of U.S. troops in the streets of the capital, St. George's, assassins assassinated in the town's Richmond Hill district, where the prime minister's residence and the Richmond Hill jail are located. Heavy fighting also raged at Fort Presidents, a Georgetown-style barracks on the capital's northeastern outskirts, and in the southwest part of the island.

Less than 48 hours later, the opposition strongpoints crumbled under a combined U.S. artillery bombardment from its naval task force, bombing raids from carrier-based Corsair jets and withering fire from helicopter gun-



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## COVER

ships. After a long sustained attack, the marines were reported to have suffered no resistance at Port Ferdinand. Fighting continued at Culveron Point, and possession there informed from Point Salines. As well, U.S. forces probing north from St. George's and south from Point Salines in effect a junction confirmed by successive batches of refugees. And at week's end Task Force Commander Vice-Admiral Joseph Metcalf said that, although he had more than 5,000 troops on the ground, light fighting continued. "If we wanted to face real fighting, we would be moving out there," he said, referring 10 miles east of Point Salines. Pentagon estimates put the number of Cubans holding out in the mountains at 350 to 400 men. "It's a small country, but a big people," Metcalf said.

The price in lives in the invaders seemed likely to be low. U.S. officials counted casualties at 13 dead and 76 injured, with seven missing. But Metcalf's estimate of Cuban losses in the major contested areas was 80 killed and 160 wounded. And "quite possibly there's a hell of a lot more," he added. There were no figures for Grenadian military or civilian casualties, although those now appear to have been extensive. And U.S. officials said that a contingent of about 160 Cubans, Soviet, North Korean, East

German and Bulgarian diplomats and advisors were sheltering at the Soviet mission in St. George's. They were granted safe passage to their homes.

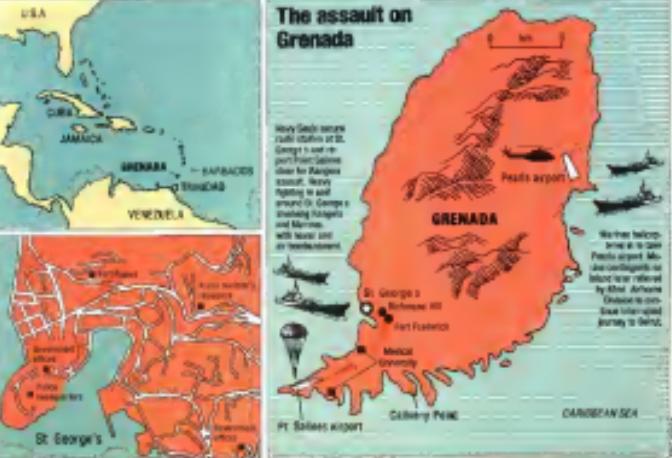
The White House checked the entire operation is a tight security blanket, imposing an air and sea ban on Grenada. In Washington, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger and military spokesman from the Pentagon confirmed their announcements to news media reports and casualty figures.

Attack. But the military action provoked strong criticism, not only from the Kremlin—still smarting from invasions and continued expansion of Afghanistan—but from such usually supportive states as West Germany and Italy, and such Latin American countries as Mexico and Venezuela. Acting External Affairs Minister Gerald Regan put the attack "in the same category as the invasion of the Falkland Islands in Argentina." And Regan called in U.S. Ambassador Paul Robeson to demand that the U.S. military commander pay the concession of about 50 Canadians, including visiting members of Grenada, Canadian University Services Overseas and Canadian International Development Agency workers. After a confused week of aborted rescue flights and nights of harrowing terror for those on the island, most of the Canadians flew out last week.

At the United Nations, Nicaragua also raised its emergency Security Council debate on Washington's action. And the embattled Sandinista government, in Managua claimed that it feared the U.S. invasion of Grenada would lead to a strike against Nicaragua (page 89). In London, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher disclosed that she had telephoned President Reagan hours before the assault to ask for a date. His failure to comply not only strained the Anglo-American relationship but also further weakened the credibility of Thatcher's Conservative government, already eroded by scandal.

But Washington was unrepentant. Said Secretary of State George Shultz: "We are always very impressed with the viewpoint of the British government but we do not always have to agree with it." The Reagan administration justified its action on two grounds: the need to protect American lives and to restore law, order and democracy in Grenada. Said Regan: "Let them be aware—under no circumstances was our decision taken on us by anyone who could have no place in a civilized society." Regan was referring to the military involvement of General Hudson Austin's master of Bishop and several ministers and close aides. At Regan's side as he spoke stood Dominican Prime Minister Eugenio Charles, who added,

## The assault on Grenada





**Cover**  
Gun battery near St. George's; U.S. unit advances on leftist suspects; the world could look a different view

"I do not think it's an invasion. We are one region. Grenada is part and parcel of us—one organization," Charles also maintained that Secon had sent a formal request to the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States to intervene. Charles was central to Canada's embarrassment over the invasion. She was meant to have attended Canada to participate, but, she said, events swept ahead too quickly and she did not have Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau's phone number. The official Canadian reaction to the operation was cautious, but skeptical. The U.S. action was not taken so much to protect its citizens on the island as it was to overthrow the government of Grenada. Trudeau told the Commons: "There is no further evidence than that, I think we would quite clearly say the actions were justified."

Most of the world thought the same. The United States was forced to veto Nicaragua's resolution of censure against the Security Council, and the voting—35 to 1 in favor with three abstentions—showed Washington's liaison Charges from the action ranged from violation of the UN Charter to break of the Organization of American States' embargo on military intervention.

Without a formal request from the government in question. Even the Foreign minister of El Salvador, a U.S. client, expressed doubts about the exercise.

ANALYSTS still, observers recalled that U.S. forces recently staged a mock assault on an island off Puerto Rico. The island was designated "Amber" in a group of islands dubbed "the Ambers." Grenada lies in the Grenadian island chain. For such reasons, Shultz's protagonists failed to still the mounting tide of criticism abroad—and at home. Former vice-president Walter Mondale, the leading contender for the 1984 Democratic presidential nomination, said at St. Paul, Miss., early last week that he found the administration's arguments "inappropriate." There was "considerable dispute," he said, as to whether American lives had been in danger. House Speaker Thomas J. O'Neill said that U.S. troops remained longer than the "brief" time the administration had predicted.

The response was mixed. Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Charles Percy (Rep., Ill.) pressed the speech. He said that countries which had been invaded would "never think twice." But British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe said that Britain's view remained that "any military operation to remove an undemocratic administration should be preceded by a formal resolution of the House of Commons." For his part, Cuban Deputy Foreign Minister Rodolfo Alarcón branded Reagan as a "bar." The total figure of Cubans on Grenada, including diplomatic personnel, is below 800," he said. "One day it will be very easy to demonstrate taking into account those killed, those wounded and the prisoners."



UPI/BETTMANN

When U.S. commanders finally allowed a handful of journalists onto the island last Thursday, what they found appeared in part at least to bear out Alarcón's version. They reported that a compound set up by U.S. troops near Point Salines airport contained more than 1,000 prisoners. But officers of the 82d Airborne said that only 600 were Cubans, the rest were refugees of other nationalities. Moreover, files released by the Pentagon showed most of the Cubans were civilian citizens, although U.S. troops in Grenada claimed that many had discarded their uniforms to try to stage capture. Clearly, the quantity of weaponry seized was huge, but the quality varied. Hundreds of wooden crates contained Soviet AK-147 antiaircraft guns, PRW-700 machine-guns and 82 mm mortars. But journalists allowed into two warehouses said that 180 crates contained outdated Soviet military weapons.

Another controversial aspect of the operation involved what appeared to be deliberate targeting of the media. But with the exception of more than 24 hours old and the only scraps of information available in Washington, Spokane took a request for names directly to Haig. As a result, handfuls of reporters from the U.S. news media were ferried to the island for hasty interviews. Wrote CBS News President Edward Jaynes to Defense Secretary Casper Weinberger: "I present the situation expressed by your public affairs office as indicated in statements that 'We learned a lesson from the British in the Falklands.' To use British ownership as an example refutes the principles of the First Amendment." Meanwhile, in Grenada the U.S. forces held three of seven journalists who had made their way to the island ahead of the invasion, inconvenienced for two days on the Guard. The other four spent the time dodging Marines until permission was secured for them to leave.

**IN CUSTODY.** Whether it was designed to facilitate the spreading of disinformation or not, the Pentagon's free curtain had encouraging results. At Wednesday evening John Chavis, Staff Chairman, Vanity called the Wednesday Bill Fristo, the last major stronghold held by Contra Grenadan forces. But Times correspondent Bernard Dohrn found it impossible to gain entry. "I'll have plenty to say on Grenada when the action has stopped and everyone's out," he said. "One day it will be very easy to demonstrate taking into account those killed, those wounded and the prisoners."

When U.S. commanders finally allowed a handful of journalists onto the island last Thursday, what they found appeared in part at least to bear out Alarcón's version. They reported that a compound set up by U.S. troops near Point Salines airport contained more than 1,000 prisoners. But officers of the 82d Airborne said that only 600 were Cubans, the rest were refugees of other nationalities. Moreover, files released by the Pentagon showed most of the Cubans were civilian citizens, although U.S. troops in Grenada claimed that many had discarded their uniforms to try to stage capture. Clearly, the quantity of weaponry seized was huge, but the quality varied. Hundreds of wooden crates contained Soviet AK-147 antiaircraft guns, PRW-700 machine-guns and 82 mm mortars. But journalists allowed into two warehouses said that 180 crates contained outdated Soviet military weapons.

Another controversial aspect of the operation involved what appeared to be deliberate targeting of the media. But with the exception of more than 24 hours old and the only scraps of information available in Washington, Spokane took a request for names directly to Haig. As a result, handfuls of reporters from the U.S. news media were ferried to the island for hasty interviews. Wrote CBS News President Edward Jaynes to Defense Secretary Casper Weinberger: "I present the situation expressed by your public affairs office as indicated in statements that 'We learned a lesson from the British in the Falklands.' To use British ownership as an example refutes the principles of the First Amendment." Meanwhile, in Grenada the U.S. forces held three of seven journalists who had made their way to the island ahead of the invasion, inconvenienced for two days on the Guard. The other four spent the time dodging Marines until permission was secured for them to leave.

**IN CUSTODY.** Whether it was designed to facilitate the spreading of disinformation or not, the Pentagon's free curtain had encouraging results. At Wednesday evening John Chavis, Staff Chairman, Vanity called the Wednesday Bill Fristo, the last major stronghold held by Contra Grenadan forces. But Times correspondent Bernard Dohrn found it impossible to gain entry. "I'll have plenty to say on Grenada when the action has stopped and everyone's out," he said. "One day it will be very easy to demonstrate taking into account those killed, those wounded and the prisoners."

Dodderick was able to inform a U.S. detainee that they had only to walk in and occupy it.

There was even more embarrassment for the Reagan administration at week's end over Pentagon assertions that resistance had been stiffer than expected and Reagan's revelation of the Grenadian arms cache. U.S. military planners had "little intelligence information about conditions on the island," Reagan asserted in his television address. But U.S. intelligence sources claimed that they had kept abreast of the Cuban buildup and there were no grounds for surprise. "We knew they were there," said one source, adding, in the forthcoming edition of *News Analysis Proceedings* reports the presence of more than 1,000 Cubans on Grenada, at least 200 of them military personnel. The article added, "That proposal was swiftly endorsed by Thatcher and Trudeau."

One important issue raised by the invasion is whether it heralds a new, more assertive posture in foreign affairs by the White House. Reagan has repeatedly stated his determination not to allow another nation in the hemisphere to adopt communism during his tenure in the Oval Office. That, in effect, is the flip side of the Bushview doctrine, under which the former Soviet president refused to permit Eastern European nations to stray from communism. The Grenada affair will also test the president's unusually strident critics on the Republican right, who have objected to his failure to back up strong words with equally strong deeds. At the same time, the invasion has sharpened the president's warlike image and may temper his re-election chances in 1984.

**DOUBTS.** There was never any doubt that the marines and their Caribbean allies would succeed. It was simply a matter of how many days and deaths it would require. The 15,000-strong Task Force deployed massive firepower, including the stealth carrier Independence and 14 other ships.

Last weekend C-4A and C-130 transport planes and smaller Sea King helicopters continued to land at St. George's, dropping more supplies. About 800 Americans to the north, marines equipped to fire artillery shells into the hillsides. But once the guns are silenced many questions will remain.

With Michael Posner in Washington and William Loewen in London



Dead detector: despite the fears, the price of war seemed likely to be low

Reagan, though just  
Spokesman for  
the Guard, says  
he was not  
involved in the  
decision to invade  
Grenada. He claims  
he was not even  
present when  
the decision was  
made.

MICHAEL POSNER/WHITE HOUSE

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U.S. Army checkpoint outside St. George's as the invading forces stayed near the towns while the detainees fled to the hills.

COVER

## Operation Fury: Inside Grenada

Like hundreds of other journalists—especially those who were nonmembers—Markham's Washington Bureau Chief Michael Posner, came to Barbados last week to cover the U.S. invasion of Grenada. Just Around turned from the intense American Task Force orders. But Posner was visiting alone. He had no reporter or cameraman by his side. He had no telephone, no fax machine, no e-mail. And he chartered a small boat for a four-hour night journey, landing on Grenada's northern coast on the early hours of Saturday. At his landing point, the village of Soufrière, he hired a driver to take him south, through areas still controlled by the Grenadian People's Revolutionary Army, to the U.S.-occupied capital of St. George's. On the way, Posner interviewed dozens of Grenadians to obtain their views on the invasion—and hopes for the future. He witnessed the arrival of Bernard Coard, a leader of the ruling New Jewel Movement implicated in the murder of former prime minister Maurice Bishop. He also found a mortally injured U.S. soldier had landed, killing 27 minutes ago.

To get his story out, Posner, a veteran Maclean's correspondent, flew from St. George's to Puerto Rico's airport aboard a U.S. helicopter派送. Said Posner: "Two steps and very short distances passed the door glass." At Puerto Rico, a surprised and angry major, responsible for giving official tours to in-

dicted media representatives, refused to provide transport to Barbados. Then, Posner succeeded in joining a party of refugees in a C-130 military flight to Bridgetown. From there an intense debate of his whereabouts took place on the seafloor, just before the start-up time of the inquisitor's presser. My report:

**W**hen Maurice Bishop died, "mid-30-year-old rich drifter Donald McQueen," half of Grenada died. McQueen was my guide last Saturday for a 30-km journey through the horrible and strange reality of the Grenadian war. From the tiny village of Soufrière near the northern coast, where I landed after a harrowing 60-hour midnight crossing of the Caribbean ocean from St. Vincent, in a 22-foot motor boat, down the tortuous, post-held coastal road to St. George's, I got a rare glimpse into the end of the late Prime Minister Maurice Bishop's stormy reign and the start of a new and uncertain era in the island's history. Along the way, in every little town and parish, our van was passed by Grenadians, eager—almost, shamed—with gaveling their joy at the US invasion. Even the tragic—and as far unreported—U.S. bombing of a mental home, killing 47 people instantly, still did not affect their attitude.



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## COVER

most of the capital and accepted their surrender. They offered no resistance. Local Grenadians also deserted. E.S. forces began clashes of small arms and machine guns in private homes and were housed in the capital.

Indeed, the Grenadian attitude was mixed. That night, Alice Cobain of the Richmond Hill Mental Hospital advised the United States of all blues in the depths. "God bless America," she repeated a dozen times, as she led me through the rubble of brick and masonry which collapsed after a direct hit on the roof. Under attack at the military garrison of Port Elizabeth, further up the hill, Cuban soldiers had burst into the asylum, which the natives knew simply as the crazy house. "No one could have known this was an intense explosion," said Cobain, as workers loaded another body onto a plain steel stretcher. Across the barren stone courtyard, a woman patient sat rocking and singing an old toby.

Time and again I— and four others with me—was approached by Grenadians in towns with all US military presence at all and shouted to tell the world how welcome the Marines were. Said David Goldin, a St. George's marketing manager: "Washington had waited two weeks, it would have been too late."

But if exhilaration was evident everywhere, so too were the stark accompaniments of war. Food was in scarce supply. Nurse Cobain had served "messy bread" and weak tea for Saturday breakfast at the asylum. In the countryside, families grew vegetables and bananas. Schools, banks, post offices and businesses were closed. The plantains were harvested intermittently but there was no electricity. At the same time, groups of looters raged through the capital, smashing shop windows and breaking over refrigerators and video cassette recorders.

Helicopters, perhaps flew regular sorties over the hillsides east of the capital, trying to draw enemy fire. Puff the Magic Dragon, a huge C-130 helicopter gunship, flew in carefully patrolled circles, blasting regular rounds of machine-guns fire at ground emplacements. And Grenadians—the army's word for foot soldiers—launched search-and-destroy missions in new towns and neighborhoods. Indeed, five days after the war began a marine lieutenant told me that most of the country is still unoccupied. Then he added: "It's bad. You can't tell the good guys. Everyone's in civilian clothes."

There was every indication that the U.S. forces will have to stay in Grenada for weeks. And the Grenadians have no clear view of the kind of government

they now want. Some said they would welcome colonial rule from Britain again. Others said that a benign dictatorship might be acceptable if it were led by a nationalist like Bishop. A man with a weathered arm shouted "No way," so the suggestion of former prime minister Eric Gairy—an eccentric figure whose Bishop coaxed—wasn't even heard.

But the Grenadians do agree that, as always, they would like the Cubans to leave. "Why did the Cubans fight?" asked Theresa Adonis, a Bishop sympathizer in the village of Soufrière. Service as an early morning breakfast at her Eggy Tia restaurant, she added. "Maybe it was because they wanted to take the island for themselves." Further down the road, Patrick Ann Peal, 35, contended that the Cubans had manifested a great deal to the education and health of Grenadians and that popular elections—creating parties and factions—may not be what Grenada needs. "We can control our own affairs. It's up to the masses to decide," he declared.

At the village of Vieux Fort, bands of Peoples' Revolutionary Army soldiers are using the local school for sleeping. The Americans have not yet begun to approach the treacherous hillside areas on foot. But early in the war, US planes

strafed and bombed the Cuban-held hideouts that became Radio Grenada to the outside world. Now, two soldiers, bloodied and mangled-infused, lie face down in separate rooms. The streak of fire-dot-dot death is everywhere. As it would, somewhere else in the dominion. A sign in Cyrillic script, "You will never be alone," stands in the doorway.

Moving down the coast, I sensed that the Grenadians have a clear understanding of their past and present, but only uncertainty about what may be ahead. They know Maurice Bishop—even if they did not always love his policies. For now they welcome the Marines, intent on rooting out the last vestiges of the Castroist regime. But the hilly tropical terrain in central Grenada could hide guerrillas for months. Grenadians have watched their experiment in independence flicker and die, like the faded revolutionary slogans painted on every government office. This is a new experiment—at most probably an old one, democracy, will emerge. But for the Grenadians last weekend, shaken by the passing of 30 men and artillery guns from U.S. warships in the harbor, it seemed tragically certain that their suffering and misery will be a way of life for far longer than they deserve. ☐

Marine detachment checking prisoners, launching new search-and-destroy missions



# Fury in the wake of terror

By Linda Diebel

**U**S and French servicemen were still searching frantically through rubble searching for the bodies of their friends when a Condition One alert sounded at the U.S. Marines base at Beirut International Airport last week. Sailors from the Eighth Marine Battalion scrambled into sandbagged bunkers or crawled behind antitank guns trained on the compound's gates. The alarm sounded because Lebanese Army intelligence had spotted three trucks loaded with high explosives in a Muslim Shi'ite suburb near the airport. The alarm was followed by the usual heavy shelling from the nearby suburbs. But just two days earlier similar truck loads with TNT had exploded into U.S. and French barracks and exploded, killing at least 235 marines and 38 French paratroopers. Describing the fury of his men in the aftermath of the bombings, Marine spokesman Maj. Robert Jordan declared, "Any one who comes up there [to the camp gate] will be dead."

On the eve of this week's conference on national reconciliation in Geneva, the savage down-atmosphere in Beirut was a deviation from the relative calm and eight years of peace in Lebanon. The once inviolability of the predominantly Christian Palestinian force also was shattered, once again, the weakness of the embattled government of Lebanese President Elias Hrawi and his U.S.-trained army. Said Lebanon Prime Minister Rafik al-Hariri, "Every time we make some headway, evil elements set us back." As well, the heightened U.S. influence in the wake of the blasts has dragged Washington even deeper into Lebanon's civil war and fueled international concern that the conflict will erupt into a war between the superpowers. In Washington, President Ronald Reagan promised swift retaliation for the bombings, believed to be the work of Shi'ite Muslims associated with the Iranian regime of Ayatollah Khomeini, and he blamed Syria and Israel for encouraging violence in Lebanon. Then, he warned that if the Middle East should fall to a power hostile to the West, "there would be a direct threat to the United States and to our allies."

Reagan also reiterated the United States' resolve to stay in the region to honor a moral commitment to the con-

sisted existence of Israel. For his part, Secretary of State George Shultz said that removing the marines would prove to the world that "bullying on the doyen [sic] bases off and relying on the United States is a fatal mistake." In response, the official Soviet newspaper, Pravda, contended, "It appears that the Vietnam story is beginning to repeat itself."

Indeed, the tragic legacy of Vietnam was revisited last week as a nation

newspapers ran daily lists headed "Panama Lists of Casualties," and families of marines assigned to Beirut waited for cable or word telling them that their sons, husbands or sweethearts were safe. The news was agonizingly slow in reaching them. Most of the marines had been either asleep or in the showers—and not wearing dog tags—when the bomb exploded at dawn. At noon's end, rescue workers were still searching for the bodies of 21 marines missing in the



U.S. marines examine checkpoint; French troops combing ruins (right); winged ducks\*

survived. Its dead. In fact, the death toll from the terrorist attack on the Marines was greater than in any other anti-American incident in Vietnam. On only one day in the Vietnam War—Jan. 31, 1968, when 256 Americans died at the start of the Communists' Tet offensive—did the nationwide toll of casualties exceed the current Beirut count. Across the United States, U.S. flags flew at half-mast, and teams of marines in full-dress uniforms fanned out across the country to knock on doors with their tragic news. U.S.

debris of the lower floors of the four-story building.

For Debbie Caesar of El Campo, Tex., the deepest blow of two marines who entered the lobby of the morning house where she worked told her all she wanted to know: She fainted. After she was revived, the marines told her that her son, 22-year-old Lance-Cpl. Douglas Caesar, was dead. For Miriam and Muriel Helms of Wright, N.C., the agonizing uncertainty ended when marines arrived to inform them that their



son, Pfc. Mark Helms, had been killed. Just several hours after the news arrived, they received a last letter from their son, "Hello," the letter began, "I'm still alive." He would, he told them, be home in 26 days.

The homelands—one of the bloodiest single episodes in Lebanon's violent history—again piled scars of an amateur Israeli-Syrian conflict. Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir blamed Syria, which enjoys "the umbrella of Soviet protection," for the suicide mines. In Syria President Hafez al-Assad staged military exercises under realistic battle conditions and warned his armymen to be at "the peak of alert" to face what he called planned U.S., West and Israeli aggression. Said the government-controlled newspaper al-Thawra: "Syria is joined by Arab masses and world progressives in liberating forces, notably the Soviet Union, the faithful friend of Arab rights."

In Paris Foreign ministers from the four peacekeeping nations—the United States, Britain, France and Italy—met in an emergency session last week to reiterate their commitment to keep the 5,000-member multinational force in Lebanon. But as the European privately vowed, Paris acted against exposing their soldiers vulnerability to Beirut's murderous foes. And French Foreign Minister Claude Cheyron later cast a pall over this week's Geneva talks when he criticized the U.S. refusal to allow Palestinian representatives to attend the conference. The participants include Gemayel and delegations from the Druze and other Moslem factions, whose representation in the current Maronite-Christians government falls far short of their 40-per-cent majority in Lebanon. Saudi Arabia and Syria are scheduled to send observers.

But at week's end fierce fighting between the Lebanese Army and Druze militias in the Chouf Mountains near Beirut again shattered the Sept. 26 ceasefire. A surprise visit by Gemayel to Damascus for talks with Assad was canceled at the last minute last week and Lebanese government sources said it would take place after the Geneva conference. Meanwhile, Druze leader Walid Jumblatt arrived in Geneva on a private Jordanian-registered plane from Damascus where he and other Lebanese tactical leaders opposed to Gemayel agreed on a joint strategy for the talks. The Moslem opposition groups did not announce their plan but in the past they have demanded more power for Moslems in any Lebanese government, absorption of the May 27 Israeli troops withdrawn and evacuation of the Lebanese Army from the Chouf. As Jumblatt told *Maclean's*, "If



Marine Commandant Kelley (fourth from left) visits blood site, underscoring the multinational force's tragic vulnerability.

The Geneva talks fail to address the real issue of redistribution of power in Lebanon, then there is no hope of peace for my country."

Indeed, in the wake of the bloody terrorist bombings, White House offices increasingly attacked the fanaticism of U.S. efforts to resolve a century-old feud between Christians and Muslims in Lebanon. They questioned whether the United States could afford when 50,000 allied Israeli troops had failed to successfully negotiate Lebanese forces for their own purposes. As South Carolina Democratic Senator Ernest Hollings put it, "The deployment of U.S. troops in this type of situation borders on the criminal." About 50,000 Lebanese and Palestinians, mostly civilians, have died in the Lebanese civil war since 1976. Another 15,000 fled after Israeli troops rolled north to invade Lebanon in June, 1982.

The sheer horror of the fighting became apparent to the U.S. public only after Reagan dispatched the marines in August, 1983, to oversee the evacuation of the PLO, and a temporary peacekeeping mission became quasi-permanent. During the 14 months prior to the bombings, eight marines and 18 French paratroopers were killed by snipers, grenades and artillery fire. Even before Sunday morning blatta, a New York Times/CBS poll showed that the U.S. public disapproved of the marine mission by a margin of 53 to 31 and disagreed by nearly 3 to 1 with Reagan's claim that U.S. interests were at stake in the Middle East.

The bombings once again plunged

Congress and the administration into a bitter fight over U.S. involvement in Lebanon as Maryland Republican Senator Charles Mathias Jr. said, "You are going to get everything from 'Get them out' to 'Kill them.' Illinois Senator Thomas F. Tip O'Neill last week called a closed Democratic caucus meeting to discuss a "very simple" plan to get "people out of Lebanon" — allow Reagan to keep the marines in Lebanon at least until March, 1984, as previously agreed. It is almost certain that a move to bring the marines home will fall when Congress votes this week. Still, as Americans families across the nation grieved for their dead and wounded, many of them blamed the administration for making their relatives "itting ducks," and some of them called for an immediate pullout withdrawal. Saint John Price of Atchala, Ala., after learning of the death of his 20-year-old son, James, "I feel sad, but I'm relieved. I don't see any reason for the boys being there."

A number of disturbing issues remain in the wake of the massacre. The main concern is how the fatal gag is marine severity observed and who was responsible for the bombings. The marine contingent appears to have taken relatively few precautions to prevent truck-bomb attacks, even after the U.S. Embassy in Beirut was destroyed in a similar blast, killing more than 60 people, six months ago. After the Oct. 23 explosion, Marine Maj. Jordan reported, "We have had consistent warnings of attack in the past weeks and months." French intelligence sources had received similar warnings involving their troops. What

shocked Americans most was the ease with which the suicide drivers who carried out the two 25-ton Mercedes truck, driven by an assassin in green combat fatigues, simply drove by the U.S. Marine checkpoints. At the first checkpoint, but not the second, yards from the base, a Lebanese soldier waved the truck through without a salute. From there, according to a marine informant within the compound, the rest was clear because two black 18-inch sewer pipes, which had previously barricaded the road to the main gate, had been removed. It was not clear who had removed them or why.

The Mercedes apparently entered the public and unguarded airport parking lot just south of the marine compound at about 6:30 a.m. on Sunday, Oct. 23. It circled the parking lot twice to pick up speed and hurtled through the barbed-wire fence separating the service lot from a marine parking area. Then the truck raced 10 yards to the marine wrought-iron perimeter fence, passing two sentry posts, before it crashed through the fence. Finally it roared the 65 yards up to the front door of the Bee-Sweep Battalion Landing Team headquarters, and the driver exploded one ton of TNT. Just 4.8 km away and 50 seconds later a small red truck twice circled the headquarters of the Sixth French Parachute Infantry Regiment. As sleep French paratroopers were pouring to the windows to investigate the noise coming from the nearby airport explosives, the truck crashed into the building and detonated 400 lbs of explosives. "Simple, but brilliant—

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and unexpected," said a U.S. Army sergeant describing the two successful assaults.

It also became clear later that the marines had trouble in finding off the track. U.S. Marine Lt.-Col. Orlin Calhoun, 31, reported that a marine in his unit's parking lot had been unable to fit an anti-personnel clip into his M-16 rifle in time to fire at the track. Outside the base, in full view of the public, stands a large metal "Cave-in" United weapons before entering compound." Calhoun's description of the marines' futile attempts to fire at the track was gripping in its detail. "As it went by, he tried to pull out a magazine because we are not allowed to have one in our weapons," he recalled. "He tried to pull the bolt home. And by the time he got everything loaded, the bomb had exploded. He said all he could remember was that the man was smoking as he drove."

Still, as both the U.S. and French high commands argued over the lack of security, French Gen. François Camou, for one, expressed his sense of futility. "We are dealing in this case with fanatics."

Last week the entire U.S. compound was turned into a virtual fortress, the main entrance closed off by a track mounted with machine-guns. Inside, the scene was grisly, with bodies churning up the 30-foot-high mound of rubble and charred remains sweeping up clouds of concrete and human remains as pieces of camouflage uniforms and remnants of sleeping bags floated in the breeze. Lt.-Col. Arnold Roseau,

rabbit for the American Sixth Fleet, described the emotion as "a mix of anger and wonder." "It's when they have to break up the birthday cards and wedding photo frames strewn around the rubble that it hits them," he said. "Then they realize that it is not 200 dead marines, but one plus one plus one plus one."

The scene was equally grim at the French headquarters in the southern Beirut suburb of Rmeil el-Baid. The blast lifted that nine-story building 50 feet from its base, then dropped it down in layers like a deck of cards. When French President François Mitterrand, a survival General at his side, arrived to comfort his troops last week, coffins were lined up starkly against a dark green tent.

Stories of courage came from both contingents. In Wiesbaden, West Ger-



Mitterrand in Beirut reaffirming a commitment to resolving a century-old feud

many, U.S. Marine Commandant Gen. Paul X. Kelley awarded an unannounced wounded marine a Purple Heart. Later, Kelley said, "He held my hand with a firm grip. He was making signals and we realized he wanted to tell me something. We put a pad of paper in his hands, and he wrote, 'Semper Fi.' And what that means to a marine is 'Always faithful!'" Semper fidelis, Latin for "always faithful," is the motto used by members of the corps usually shorten it to semper fi in conversation. The doctors told Kelley that the young man would probably not make it through the night.

The frustrated soldiers also knew that the United States would not likely be able to revitalise the shocking epi-

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side. Indeed, the kidnapping and murder of the U.S. ambassador to Lebanon in 1983, the gunning down of the French ambassador in 1985, and the U.S. Embassy explosion in Beirut last April all remain unsolved. A Senate investigation team, led by Sen. Helmut Kohl, the German-American chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, has been investigating the case. And Col. Hisham Jaber, the Lebanese Army's liaison officer with the Marines, has initiated his own probe.

Still, more evidence pointed to the pro-Iranian Shabiha. Moderate factions in the western Lebanese city of Baalbek experts gave little credence to either of the two unknown groups—"Islamic Jihad" and the "Free Islamic Revolutionary Movement"—who claimed a French news agency in Beirut to claim credit. The two main groups active in Baalbek, where there are also an estimated 200 Iranian Revolutionary guards, are "Shabihollah" (Party of God) and "Tahrik Amal." Islamic Amal is an offshoot of the larger Shabiha group in Lebanon. Amal's Little accurate information is available on either group, except that they are radical and militant, and their followers are all proponents of an Islamic state in Lebanon modelled on the Iranian system.

Neither unit has more than 1,000 armed men with any significant training according to military observers. But what the groups lack in skill they make up for in morale—a willingness to forfeit their lives to advance their cause. Both groups have strong links to Iran through neighbouring Syria, which gives them advice and equipment. The Amal offshoot held a press conference last week to deny that it was responsible for the attack, although leader Ramez Muawiya said he "knew before the scale of the massacre that it was the Shabihollah who carried out this operation." Syria has always supported the Iranian revolutionaries and it allied itself to its three-year war against Iraq. Recently, Iran reacted angrily to the French decision to supply the Super-Etendard jets, equipped with missiles, to Iraq.

Last week Reagan promised to punish those responsible for the attacks and to take new steps to ensure the security of the U.S. troops in Lebanon. Determining "who is behind who," as one marine officer put it, may be difficult. But as one senior official in Washington pointed out last week, "I think it is fair to say that all the intelligence now points to the Iranians in one form or the other, but we want to be very sure before we do anything." If the White House becomes sure, life will become very unpleasant for some Iranians in the near future.

With Robin Wright in Beirut and William Laufer in Washington

## FRANCE

# The Socialists seek consensus

In the Bourg-en-Bresse region, 60 km northeast of Lyon, the traditional bastion of the Parti socialiste, the priest is making hay. But an 4,000 delegates and observers to the French Socialist Party's seventh national convention overflowed the town's hotels last weekend. The placid "Vichy capital of France" became an arena for President François Mitterrand and his government to reinforce their image. Using the most modern French telecommunications

means techniques, the governing Socialists launched a carefully orchestrated program to cover up the party's internal divisions and reenergize public opinion after a series of stringing attacks in municipal elections and bidding for health and pension administrators.

Indeed, the party has several reasons for worrying about its prestige. Polls indicate that disillusionment with the government is at a record high, and Mitterrand's personal rating has plummeted to 30 per cent—the lowest point registered by any president of the Fifth Republic. But the most alarming fact was that much of the disenchantment came from within the Socialists' own ranks. In a post-election survey conducted by the left-leaning weekly *Le Nouvel Observateur*, 70 per cent of Socialists polled said they believed that the government had failed to keep its pre-1981 election promises. And last week's disaster in Lebanon reinforced the impression that the party is following economic and foreign policies which are clearly contradictory to those on which it campaigned more than two years ago. As rival French Democratic Union President Jean Lecanuet commented, "François Mitterrand is now supported more by the opposition than by his majority."

Socialist disillusion has surfaced just as the business community is beginning to warm to the government's dramatic monetary measures, which are now regarded as great results. For one thing, September's foreign trade balances moved into the black for the first time in more than a year, and inflation has been reduced to nine per cent from a high of 14 per cent, one point above this year's target. But it is in just such economic matters that most Socialists feel the government has betrayed them. For the pragmatists, the government's initial inflationary spending in 1980 and 1982 was an embarrassing disaster that paved the way for an international loss of confidence and those destabilizations of the franc. For hard-line idealists, the initial reforms did not go far enough, and an abrupt reversal to deflationary tactics last spring, with increased taxes and cuts in social security benefits, was a betrayal.

The hard-line faction, led by former minister of industry Jean-Pierre Chevénement, who has criticized Mitterrand severely ever since his resignation last March, posed the most serious threat to the president's hold on the party. Although Chevénement was supported from only 17 per cent of the membership, his left-wing *Critique* faction re-



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creased its influence on the Socialists' board of directors by three seats in a progressive vote in Paris, Oct. 22. Not only that, but the media has given the 45-year-old wonderkid, once considered Mitterrand's heir apparent, every opportunity to air his arguments for further derailing the franz, withdrawing from the European monetary system, stimulating industry and raising protective trade barriers. Cheneviere rejected charges that he was sabotaging unity, insisting that the party could only regenerate itself through internal debate.

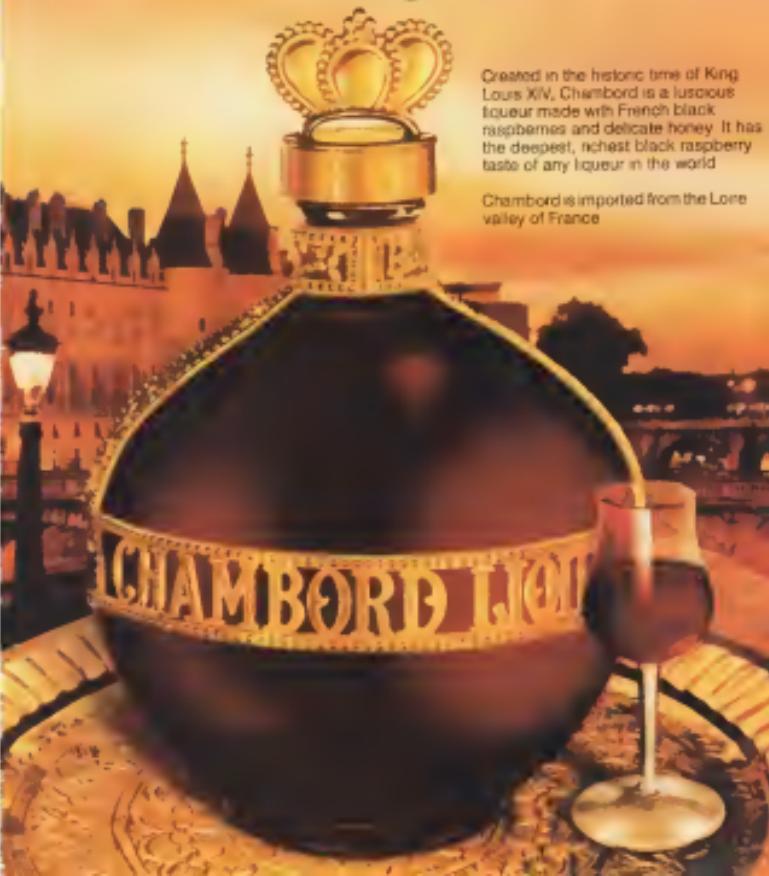
As well, Socialists who had been enraptured by Mitterrand's 1980 election promise to end the country's foreign interventionist military posture and halt arms sales expressed their dissatisfaction. Since his election the president has sent 3,000 troops to Chad and 2,000 to Lebanon. He has also given firm support to the deployment of U.S. cruise and Pershing II missiles in Europe and stepped up arms sales, including the delivery of five Super-Etendard aircraft to Iraq. That said, says one purist, has proved the bloody regional against French forces in Retz.

Within the Socialist hierarchy itself, wavemakers are worried by Communist leader Georges Marchais' efforts to keep his party powerfully detached from the governing Socialist-Communist coalition. Marchais has disagreed with government policies on Chad and French nuclear defense. In an unprecedented move that appeared aimed at staving off a bitter internal debate over whether to break with the Communists, Socialist Party leader Lionel Jospin sternly warned Marchais days before the congress that his lack of support was undermining Mitterrand's credibility.

To counter his plummeting popularity, Mitterrand recently went on national television to plead for his austerity policies. "If I am unpopular," he said, "then I prefer it to failing in my duties." But not all Socialists share that conviction. Jospin's second-in-command, Jean Poperen, warned the president in a progressive report that unless the government removes some of the tax burden from middle-wage earners, who make up most of the party's membership, the Socialists risk an "irreversible" drop in support. That prospect could shatter the fragile illusion of consensus orchestrated by Bourges-Bresse. According to *Le Monde* Observatory's poll, it is not Mitterrand whom most Socialists think best summarizes their ideals. Their champion is Michel Rocard, Mitterrand's handsome and ambitious minister of agriculture and a strong challenger to his leadership four years ago, before the party came to power. —MARC McDONALD in Paris

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## NICARAGUA

# Climbing fears of a U.S. attack

The Sandinista regime in Nicaragua made it known last week that against Iran. As U.S. marines eliminated the last pockets of Cuban and Grenadian resistance last week, the Sandinista junta's ex-ordinator, Daniel Ortega Saavedra, warned that Washington's next target might be Nicaragua. Then, because of escalating attacks on strategic industrial sites inside Nicaragua by U.S.-backed counterrevolutionaries, he ordered the immediate registration of up to 200,000 men for possible service in a newly created territorial defense force, the Sandinista People's Army. Declared Ortega: "The arrogance and thoughtlessness which is guiding the U.S. administration could lead to a generalized war in Central America."

At the same time, U.S. and Honduran troops continued their large-scale military exercises near Nicaragua's northern border. And in the past month Managua has suffered a series of attacks from counterrevolutionaries, as well as, on its vital but vulnerable infrastructures. Not only that, but the United States has undertaken attempts by the Sandinistas to find a diplomatic way out of Central America's socialist antagonism. As well, the Sandinistas claim that because a steady deterioration in conditions in neighboring nations like El Salvador is frustrating the Reagan administration's hopes for political solutions in this area, a military strike may become a more effective method of achieving the rapid installation of a more pro-Washington government.

One possibility raised by the Sandinistas is that Washington might react to border skirmishes with the review by intervening directly. Still, after the harsh criticism directed at Washington because of its invasion of Grenada, that seems unlikely. But the savages have increased their attacks in the past month. A massive air and sea strike on major oil installations at Managua's principal port of Corinto was followed by a raid on petroleum installations at Puerto Cabezas and a robot

rocket assault on a ship taking on Nicaraguan sugar in Puerto Cabezas. And, an undetected light aircraft strafed an electrical generating plant near Bluefields.

At the same time, events in neighboring Central American countries are undermining Reagan's stated goal of regional democratization. In El Salvador the extreme right and the leftists have intensified their struggle for power. Right-wing death squads have unleashed a new campaign of murder. A clandestine radio station linked to the



Every afternoon of cocaine attack on Corinto (see dump, pessimistic predictions of general warfare)

death squads has broadcast attacks on labor leaders, teachers and, most recently, the Roman Catholic Church for alleged links with leftist guerrillas. For their part, the leftists have waged a fierce campaign against newspaper editors, with the result that the population is both confused and ignorant of the real situation in the country because newspapers carry few reports of the fighting. In Guatemala, too, the struggle between left and right is hardening.

The U.S.-supported anti-Sandinista movement within the region has been hardened by these developments. The governments of El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras two weeks ago revised the Central American Defense Council (COMCAR), a long-dormant mutual se-

curity pact signed in 1965. Honduras had a separate mutual assistance pact with the United States, and that could be used to justify direct intervention by U.S. forces as well as by COMCAR members in a war between Honduras and Nicaragua.

Diplomatic efforts to avert just such a confrontation have been largely unsuccessful. The Sandinistas presented a proposal to Washington on Oct. 29 that outlined a truce agreement pact between the Central American nations most likely to go to war and the United States. But the administration rejected it, contending that the Contras—a group—Mexico, Venezuela, Panama and Colombia—is the only legitimate vehicle for negotiating a Central Ameri-

cian peace. But its attempts continue to be overshadowed by preparations for war. Said one Canadian official in Mexico City: "The signs point to more confrontations rather than reconciliation. It is a vicious circle."

Still, despite the Sandinistas' fears that Washington is about to triple their losses, the Reagan administration, with crises in the Caribbean and the Middle East, may well be hesitant to become embroiled in an invasion that could prove far more arduous and vicious. Unless the Contras group can convince the belligerent nations of the region that a negotiated settlement is possible, Central America will move periodically closer to all-out conflict.

—PAUL BLAKEMORE in San Salvador.



Andropov: the Soviets were matching olive branches with nuclear threats.

#### THE SOVIET UNION

## Peace offers and threats

**W**ith deployment of the first 41 U.S. cruise and Pershing II missiles in Britain, West Germany and Italy just weeks away, the superpower struggle for European influence has taken a new identity. Soviet party chief Yuri Andropov made last week's most dramatic move. He outlined three "additional steps" to prove Moscow's "flexibility and constructiveness" on medium-range missiles in Europe. Provided that NATO agrees new missiles, Andropov said, the Soviets will cut their complement of triple-warhead missiles targeted at Europe from 240 to "about 140." That, he continued, would be less than the number of medium-range missile launchers in the possession of Britain and France.<sup>1</sup>

Andropov also vowed to destroy—not simply withdraw—the SS-20s and act to increase the number of such missiles pointed at Asian targets if the United States does not pose any further nuclear threat to the Soviet Far East. Then he declared that the Soviets would accept higher levels of U.S. nuclear strike aircraft in Europe than had so far been agreed at arms reductions talks in Geneva. But if NATO missile deployment proceeds as scheduled next month, Andropov said, the "theatre" nuclear weapons talks would collapse.

The state department replied that Andropov's offers were "too vague" and laden with "unacceptable conditions"—particularly those linking SS-20s to French and British weapons. It stressed strong backing from Washington, Berlin

and France have so far rejected any limitation on their nuclear arsenals, both of which are scheduled for rapid buildup in the 1980s.

At the same time, the Soviet defense ministry matched Andropov's olive branch with a nuclear truce. "An understanding" has been reached with East Germany and Czechoslovakia, the ministry announced, for the phasing out of new SS-20, SS-23 and SS-25 missiles in those countries. The new battery of arms, Moscow warned, is just "one of the planned response measures to ease U.S. missile strikes in Europe." For their part, NATO defense ministers meeting in Montebello, Que., last week agreed to scrap about 1,000 aging nuclear warheads—most of them tactical weapons (page 16).

Following a wave of antinuclear protests in Europe and the United States, the political impact of last week's offers and threats is difficult to gauge. But last week, following the Moscow talks in Beirut and in the Caribbean, Congress voted to approve \$407.7 million to purchase 98 more Pershing warheads. The vote took place during an initial debate over the Reagan administration's recent budgetary fiscal 1985 defense budget. And on the morning of that vote, the U.S. Department of energy reported trouble from what appeared to be a low-level underground nuclear blast at the Soviets' testing ground in Kazakhstan. Clearly, the chance of an agreement at Geneva is growing steadily less promising.

—LINDY GLASS in New York

#### ZAMBIA

## Kaunda wins a strong mandate

**E**ven before voters went to the polls in Zambia's general election last week, the results were easily predictable. All opposition parties have already been beaten in the southern African nation, and President Kenneth Kaunda, the only presidential candidate, and his United National Independence Party (UNIP) were assured of victory. Still, because of serious economic and social problems both Kaunda, known to Zambians singly as KK, and his party campaigned vigorously. Fearful of an embarrassingly tight voter turnout, the party blitzed the nation with radio and movie advertisements and popular jingles.

That effort appeared to win Kaunda a strong endorsement. In early returns the 80-year-old leader won 84 per cent of the vote in one-seventh of Zambia's 125 ridings. Yet, despite the voter endorsement, there is broad dissatisfaction with Kaunda's attempts to fight poverty and achieve an economic turnaround. Zambia—once considered to have one of Black Africa's most promising economies—is now in the worst recession since it won self-rule from Britain in 1964. The agricultural sector has suffered from drought and a shortage of skilled managers. At the same time, low prices have crippled production of copper and cobalt, which earn 80 per cent of Zambia's foreign exchange receipts. To reverse the trend, Kaunda last January imposed a steep-point currency devaluation and imposed a 10-per-cent ceiling on wage increases. In an attempt to limit voter unrest he capped those wages with a pay raise of no more than 66 per cent for lower-paid workers.

But it was Kaunda's reputation as a diplomat that enabled him to garner widespread respect among voters. A champion of moderation, he proved instrumental in overseeing the 1979 independence talks for neighboring Rhodesia. Not only that, he's his personal philosophy, which combines elements of Christianity, African culture and socialism, has helped bind warring Zambia's 73 ethnic groups into a single cohesive force—a rare accomplishment in a continent of conflicting tribal loyalties. Despite Zambia's economic setbacks, many of which are a result of Kaunda's own mistakes, including indiscriminate nationalization of key industries and deficit spending, he has now won a mandate to continue his role as an international statesman for the next four years. □



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## PEOPLE

Last week saw the Davinci (inventing of the Gods of Greece, a collaborative effort by **Mark Clark**, biographer and New York poster artist; **Stephen Stasinoski**, 33, and **Peter Harper**, 33, the fashionista art photographers born in Madison Hot, Alta. The book is intended not only to illuminate the mythology surrounding the gods but also to humanize them in a modern-day context. According to Stasinoski, the Greek gods are "imperfect" because they mirror their human counterparts. During the publicity drive for the book, **Hornsey Parkerson** photographed Stasinoski posing as various goddesses for Town & Country magazine, inspiring Harper's to award her pose as Aphrodite the Dame of the Month award in June. Undaunted, Stasinoski persevered with a series of articles linking the gods with famous earthbound celebrities. "In the same way that we have a dominant sun sign, we also have a dominant god sign," claims Stasinoski. **Phoebe Tonkin**, for instance, is a Stein figure, "the strategist among the gods, the philosopher who plots and manipulates events," she adds. **Margaret Trudeau**, on the other hand, is torn between two godly forces: Artemis, who values her independence so much that she would not be swayed to be known even as the "wife of the gods"; and Hera, as a dual-edged Aphrodite, the goddess of love. Asked about the often controversial nature of her work, Stasinoski says: "I have absolutely no control over people's interpretation. If I worried about it, I would be paralyzed."

**T**all, thin Lindsay Wagner seemed to have eight years ago leaping buildings in a single bound as **Jane Sommers**, The **Space Woman**. Despite the far-fetched story line, Wagner was critical acclaim and an Emmy award for the series. But all the running, leaping and fistfights left the navelista physically exhausted. She turned her back on television in 1978. "The pressures and demands of trying to make the show good added to the burden," she said. Now 34, Wagner has just finished shooting a feature film called **Master's Day** in the



Stasinoski (above); Wagner; Lindsay turns her back on blarney

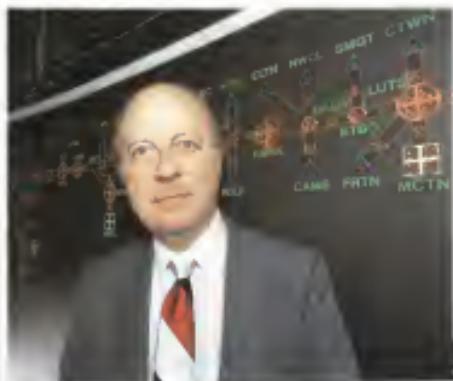
Malibù resort area north of Torrance with stars **Richard Harris** and **James Caan** and is due to appear in two television movies—*Private Duty* and *Two Kind of Love*—in November. **Elizabeth Taylor**, who died with Hollywood television titan producer **Aaron Spelling** (R.I.P.), *Heart to Heart*, *Love Boat*, Wagner is also considering re-entering

he can take a cabinet post or—according to a recent rumor—become the Canadian ambassador to France. Meanwhile, he is trying to clean up public interest in one of his longtime passions—parliamentary reform. When he told students last week that his government "wasn't there long enough to get off," his best, Prof. **James Gibbons**, a former MP and Clark policy adviser, retorted, "Speak for yourself." Replied Clark: "That's all I can do these days."

**T**wo weeks ago the National Gallery in Ottawa faced the unpleasant task of reporting the fire and theft from its premises in its 185-year history. A man posing as a researcher stole two artifacts, **Antikythera** and **Antikythera**, estimated to be valued at \$100,000 each. Last week, survivors recovered a bronze statue of Andromeda, the sea nymph, from the gallery. It was one of five such pieces loaned to an Italian art show planned for November's display of rare objects mapping shapes, sizes and stages of design. The credulous view of the exhibit (feasted Potemkin) may be lost as a potato dinner, but to the gallery it's no joking matter. Officials are understandably perturbed over the theft. But in the long bright note **Penelope Baynes**, a security guard, said, "Since the theft was reported, attendance has doubled." ☐



# A bid for that long-distance feeling



CNCP's Sutherland: 'Canadians want the benefits of competition'

**C**hief Telecommunications wanted the alluring notion of cheaper long-distance phone calls as part of most Canadians last week. But the plan was not welcomed by Bell Canada or British Columbia Telephone, which announced that it will ask the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission for permission to offer long-distance service in Ontario, Quebec and British Columbia on lines already leased to those companies. The company conceded that its long-distance rates would be as much as 20 per cent below those charged by the phone companies. Concluded CNCP President Jack Sutherland: "We believe that Canadians want the benefits of competition."

Still, the application will present the CNCP with a complicated policy decision. Increased competition in telecommunications is the central issue at stake, but the regulatory body will have to weigh the benefits of reduced long-distance rates against the phone companies' contention that profits on long-distance calls subsidize losses on local service and keep local rates low. As Bell Canada Vice-President Donald Grisdale argued, the CNCP must decide if the long-distance user should "contribute to subsidize the local service—or should rates

before the user. But the company has stated that if the CNCP decides cross-subsidization between long-distance and local calls is a major obstacle to the plan, CNCP will make payments to the phone companies to compensate for the revenues they would lose on their long-distance services.

That promise did not appear attractive to B.C. Telephone and Bell Canada. Both companies said they are willing to compete in the long-distance market but they insisted that the result would be an increase in local rates. Bell Canada spokesman Rod Donley pointed out that in 1985 it cost Bell 99 cents to generate \$1 of long-distance revenue. But it cost \$1.93 to get \$1 in revenue from local service.

It is clear that long-distance services are a lucrative money-spinner for Bell. Last year, Bell Canada's corporate profit, Bell Canada Enterprises Inc., of Montreal, increased that its profits for the same months ended Sept. 30, 1983, hit more than \$880 million or \$24.8 a share, compared with \$645 million or \$18.8 a share a year earlier. The company attributed the increase in part to a strong performance by its subsidiary, Northern Telecom Ltd. But pointing to a healthy performance by Bell Canada as well, CNCP noted that increased demand for long-distance services boosted revenue by 5.6 per cent in the third quarter over last year.

For his part, David McKeown, an analyst with the Commodity Association of Canada, told Maclean's that he expects a "titanic struggle" to develop before the CRTC. At the same time, McKeown cautions that in the United States, where long-distance competition has existed for a decade, there has been "tremendous upward pressure on local rates." The rate, he added, will have to decide whether or not CNCP's promise of compensatory payments will prevent a similar squeeze in local rates in Canada. Still, McKeown welcomed the CNCP bid. "It is time these issues are openly discussed," he declared. "The CRTC," said McKeown, "is always in favour of competition when the consumer stands to benefit from better services and lower prices." The CRTC's new chairman, André Lévesque, was appointed last week, will have to decide in hearings that are expected to last until late 1984 whether the CNCP's proposed service would bring such industry results. —JAMES FLEMING in Toronto, with Carol Gair in Ottawa

**The phone companies say that CNCP's plan to offer long-distance phone service could increase local rates**

rate voice network for businesses and governments on the phone companies' systems. But the liberal application would extend that service to the general public. If CNCP's bid is approved, said Sutherland, the company plans to start the service in seven cities—Montreal, Quebec City, Hull, Ottawa, Toronto, Vancouver and Victoria. Later, the service would be extended to 31 more cities.

Sutherland said that he cannot engage in a public debate while the issue is

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## Mexico's secret oil scandal

The abrupt transformation of Mexico from an oil-exporting country, which began during the 1970s into financial disaster can best be understood by seriously digesting the international financial system. Now, 14 years after kick-started was apparently by a massive mischievous of oil price's \$35-billion (\$1.8) foreign debt, government leaders are suffering through the financial wreckage in an attempt to determine what went wrong. Obviously, one problem was the stamp in world oil prices, which seriously cut Mexico's export earnings. But a secret government document, obtained by *Newsweek*'s dealing with the operations of the state-owned company, Petróleos Mexicanos (PEMEX), makes clear that corruption and mismanagement at the company added to Mexico's woes.

The secret document was prepared by a subcommittee of the Mexican Congress, the Comisión Mixta de Hacienda (office of the senior accountant in the exchequer). The study, which was completed near the end of the administration of president José López Portillo in 1982, was never published, apparently because of its political sensitivity. At the beginning of his post as president, Cardenosa could still be highly embarrassing for a new government of President Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado and for the foreign bankers who loaned PEMEX a total of \$20 billion.

By scaling just 1.3 per cent of GMEX's crude-oil exports in 1986, which amounted to more than one million barrels a day, company officials reported that more than 300,000 barrels had been diverted—but they were never paid for. Domestic sales showed a similar disparity. When the auditors studied the records for domestic sales of refined products, they found a large number of discrepancies. In reviewing the figures, they discovered a series of errors on the accounts. The Pemex sales department said it sold 2.1 million tons of gasoline during the year, but the books showed sales of 386,000 tons were worth \$16 million, was unaccounted for.

The dominoes also contends that INDEX undertakes major projects without pulling the work not for tender. As well, it charges that INDEX budgets are wildly overpriced and contain exorbitantly high "administrative" costs. There is no evidence that the then manager of INDEX, Jorge Diaz Serrano, has been asked to account for the irregularities.<sup>1</sup> But he now faces separate charges involving \$34 million in kickbacks for a purchase of two ships for the mining fleet. As well, two of his business

Ignacio de León and Jamie Chavarriaga feel the country is at odds after many changes.

On his part, the new head of BANCA, a Banco Betta, has pledged that as he controls the company "he will engage in any private business, big or otherwise." At the same time, BANCA's foreign bankers appear to be ignoring the reports of corruption at the bank in stride. José Corral, vice-

President of the Bank of America, which was the lead bank in a \$6-billion loan to Mexico in 1982, said that PEMEX "basically a sound" gas company, despite its ups and downs." Still, Carroll said, "you may be temped by PEMEX's earnings prospects for this year." He pointed out, the \$18 billion that PEMEX expects to earn in 1983 "will be an important factor in Mexico's debt repayment prospects." For bankers, it means, money can come even the most troubled waters.

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## Boosting the foreign banks

There was a mood of quiet satisfaction in the executive suites of Canada's 55 foreign banks last week. Since 1988, when the Bank Act was revised to prevent foreign banks from setting up chartered subsidiaries in Canada, the newcomers have waged a low-key campaign to rid themselves of regulatory shackles that hinder their growth. Last Friday those efforts paid off when the Canadian Finance minister, headed by Liberal MP John Evans, completed a report calling for major changes in the way that the foreign banks are regulated. A key recommendation is that the government should lift the arbitrary 10% cap placed on asset growth for the foreign banks. Said Derek Coombs, executive vice-president of Barclays Canada Ltd. "The proposal redresses the tremendous contribution that foreign banks have made in the market."

Clearly, the foreign banks have added an important dimension to Canada's banking. Despite the difficulties of getting established in the midst of the recent recession, the foreign institutions have aggressively expanded for corporate business, offering lower interest rates on loans than Canadian chartered banks. As a result, while the



**Evans:** If the 10% limit on assets is removed an international flavor

assets (minus) of the domestic banks have shrunk in the past year—from \$357 billion in the third quarter of 1982 to \$348 billion in the third quarter of 1983—those of the foreign bank subsidiaries have grown. For months, the foreign banks have bumped against the limit imposed by federal authorities which states that the assets they hold as a group cannot exceed eight percent of the total dollar value assets of the entire Canadian banking system.

The 10% limit is a major international irritant because it is a restriction that is not placed on Canadian bank subsidiaries in most foreign jurisdictions. As a result, the committee recommendation to Finance Minister Marc Lalonde was not unexpected.

In Evans, who is resigning as chairman of the committee this week, the foreign banking community has had an important ally. Declared the Ottawa Centra MP: "The Schedule B [foreign] banks are providing very competitive services to middle-sized firms in the commercial sector." In the future, he said, "I hope that they will do even more by offering more services to small businesses." If Lalonde implements Evans' recommendation by revising the Bank Act, the foreign bankers have made it clear that they would be more than pleased to comply with Evans' wish. —James Publishing in Toronto.



## Pulp and Paper Reports:

### Leading Industry



(Source: Statistics Canada)

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## The recovery's irregular pulse

**J**ust 10 months into the economic recovery, Canadians are expressing growing doubts about the upbeat's durability. That uncertainty has come as economic forecasters, originally united in their upbeat pronouncements, have divided into differing camps, with some experts warning gloomily that high rainfall rates might short the upturn in the months ahead. That same fear has permeated the stock market, driving the 16-month-long bull market into its October bear session which ended last week with the Toronto Stock Exchange's main index down by 5.6 per cent in four weeks and \$9.5 billion knocked off the value of Canadian listings since Oct. 1. As a result, the debate is no longer about whether the recovery's

pace was in danger of running out of steam because inflation, although it had dropped dramatically to the five-per-cent range from a high of 13 per cent in 1980, was creating modest gains in personal and family incomes. For another, new housing starts dropped to 225,800 in August, a monthly lagged cutting back three consecutive 1985 and 1986 starts. Adding to the pessimism, Statistics revealed that while the expansion created 30,000 new jobs a month in the spring, the rate slipped to 15,000 in August. Then, last week Stats Can reported that Canada's total industrial output declined marginally in August after several months of growth. As well, the key bank rate rose slightly from 9.45 per cent to



August: the market should recover from its current uncertainty

pace has slowed — it indisputably has — but whether the economy will continue to expand at a steady rate through 1984 or slip back into recession.

Signs of the recovery's faltering speed have been accumulating in a haphazard fashion since June. In the first half of the year the economy surged ahead at a rate of 7.4 per cent, fuelled by consumer spending on such interest-sensitive expenditures as automobiles, appliances and new housing. In the second quarter alone, consumer spending increased at a 5.9-per-cent annual rate, and in May the heating-boiler, air-conditioner and refrigerator markets adopted a nation-wide policy of keeping stocks to a minimum. In June and July, in fact, inventories in relation to shipments sank to the lowest level in 12 years. But in August companies began a modest replacement of stocks as

8.49 per cent late last week.

The figures for GNP growth in the third quarter have not yet been released, but the consensus is that they will confirm the slowing speed of the recovery. That is not surprising, because recessions traditionally slow down after a sudden initial improvement. But now economic problems are returning to their regulators to determine just how severe, and dangerous, the slowdown will be. Optimists point out that the key ingredient in the seesaw stage of any recovery — a build-up of inventories by businesses — has apparently begun. For most of the year companies adopted a nation-wide policy of keeping stocks to a minimum. In June and July, in fact, inventories in relation to shipments sank to the lowest level in 12 years. But in August companies began a modest replacement of stocks as

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anticipation of increasing sales.

Still, there is uncertainty about whether the recovery will enter its third stage. According to Edward Neufeld, chief economist for the Royal Bank, "In the third stage, as cash flow improves and business confidence in an enduring recovery picks up, business investment in plant and machinery increases." Then, added Neufeld, "a self-sustaining period of expansion emerges." But Neufeld warned that the level of real interest rates—the difference between lending rates and inflation—remains dangerously high. "High real interest rates," he contended, "threaten the strength and durability of this recovery by narrowing the pace of consumer spending on durable, moderating the demand for housing, suppressing the accumulation of inventories and inhibiting fixed investments."

The outlook for retail sales in the near term is not cause for alarm. But some experts predict that while sales should remain stable or fall slightly through 1984, eventually government borrowing needs, spurred by huge deficits, will clash with private sector credit demands, driving rates up again in 1985. For its part, the Conference Board of Canada recently predicted that fears of high interest rates and renewed inflation will dramatically slow the economy to a 2.7-per-cent growth rate in 1984 and induce a two-year period of stagnation afterward. Most experts, however, expect a slow but steady pace for the economy, especially if governments' deficits are reduced by tax hikes and if Ottawa retains the notion of a gradual increase of economic activity while interest rates fall further. The majority predict annual economic growth of as much as five per cent in 1984 and 1985. Other analysts believe that the October stock market slide is a temporary correction and that the bull market should resume within several weeks. Richard Aslett of the man's sales department, and that the average length of the last 15 bull markets since 1950 has been 32 months. Although the S&P suffered its first monthly loss in October after an unprecedented 18-month series of gains, the historical record suggests that the market should resume a less headstrong upward march.

With unemployment expected to remain above 11 per cent until at least 1985 and wage gains projected to hover in the five- to six-per-cent range next year, Canadians certainly have no reason for unbridled optimism. But if the majority of economic forecasters are correct, the current need of increasing anxiety is not warranted, at least until late 1984 when the fate of the recovery will be decided.

JAMES PLUMING in Toronto



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# Bennett's priest of high tech

By Peter C. Newman

**G**ory details of Bill Bennett's Start-up-Driving restraint program have so overwhelmed the news out of British Columbia that nothing much else seems to be going on within the provincial government. That's almost true—except for the persistence of one determined minister who wants to turn our Pacific coast into a high-tech paradise.

In Patrick McGee, who builds the cumbersome universities, science and communications portfolio, hardly qualifies as one of the countercultural operators of the Bennett administration. A science graduate, he was an Olympic basketball player (whose team defeated the Harlem Globetrotters), took a PhD in chemistry from Princeton and did research at DuPont. Then he got a medical degree and settled into a career that for the past two decades has been an incongruous combination of high-level neurological research and lowball partisan politics.

"We have come through the Dark Ages," he says. "Only very recently have Canadians begun to realize the penalties they pay for not taking part in technological advances. What matters now is know-how." McGee claims there has yet to take place a properly organized meeting of Canadian science ministers and that if you asked the proportion of scientists and engineers in industrial-oriented research and development currently at work in Canada, we would need 40,000 people—three times our actual total.

"New billion-dollar, high-tech companies have been springing up around the world to grab new technological opportunity," he points out. "Canada's failure to spawn a single one can be traced directly to scientific reticence among the federal policymakers. Japan made the decisions 30 years ago we're starting to make now. I propose as public enemy number 1 the ministry of finance in Ottawa. Because of the horrendous fiscal problems generated by social expenditures, they have been very reluctant to extend investment incentives that would help fuel scientific industrial success. What everybody absolutely has to recognize is that if we don't move good people into such productive activities, we have no prospect of success. None."

Unlike most provincial politicians who blame the central power for the nation's ills, McGee has specific policy

alternatives in mind. He wants to see the MUNS law-welcomed formula applied to high tech; federal underwriting of "income bonds" to finance high-tech expansion; an exponential hike in the National Science and Engineering Research Council's budget; and, in general, rates of investment that would make Canada a haven for an industry that is slippery and mobile.

On his home turf, British Columbia's



McGee: "What matters now is know-how."

spending Yellen) has 300 researchers—some of them busy developing a Spacephone.

British high-tech enterprises spring from human ingenuity rather than natural resources; they can locate anywhere. Their largest concentrations continue to be in the golden Palo Alto enclave near San Francisco. But planks there are growing so fast that newcomers can no longer afford local housing. Employees are so hard to come by that MitGut recalls driving around the area and seeing an aircraft bearing the rush-hour traffic, creating a bottleneck that limited available jobs. He believes that British Columbia could benefit from Palo Alto's overflow because the province can offer a superior quality of life, a free-enterprise-minded government and a developing high-tech infrastructure.

The province's high-techers include Vertek Industries, which makes chips the power of more than 300 conventional floppies. (One Vertek chip will characterize entire 3.5-inch cartridges.) Stakem Electronics Ltd. of Port Moody makes the world's most microversatile computer terminals, and Ballard Engineering is one of the few firms capable of producing lithium-sulfur dioxide batteries. The most interesting computer software venture is Vancouver's Syntex Development Corp., which has produced such specialized programs as packages suitable for the dry-ginger business.

McGee's best future hope is the establishment of Dynaspek Enterprises Corp. in an empty hangar near Sidney, B.C. By putting together a \$19-million financing package (\$11 million in federal and \$5 million in provincial subsidies), McGee plans to provide the province with a viable world-scale chip "package," assembling integrated circuits in silicon wafers the size of a paper clip. The \$50-million operation will eventually employ 3,000 (at a cost of \$200,000 per job).

It remains an open question whether McGee's initiatives can survive the state of economic recession sweeping the province. But if he and the few like-minded scientist-politicians operating in that country should fall, the Canadian economy is doomed to stagnation.

No wonder Pat McGee, whose main interest remains research into the intricacies of the human brain, while away his time during the BC legislature's all-night voting reading research papers on schizophrenia.



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#### SPORTS

## A mountain of problems

Organizers of Calgary's 1988 Winter Olympics have been dogged by confusion and controversies almost from the day they arrived last week in Calgary from Baden-Baden, West Germany, to cheering throngs after winning the bid two years ago. Criticism erupted almost immediately, and it focused on the mountain chosen for the alpine ski events. It has continued ever since. Last week it surfaced again.

The critics have not been without ammunition. The '88 Olympic Winter Games Organizing Committee (OCO '88) president, David Leigham, was forced to resign last January over a managerial dispute, only five months after he had taken over the job. A \$16-million cost overrun at the city's new Olympic Saddledome hockey and figure-skating arena has haunted organizers, even though they had no control over its construction. All of the costs for all the outdoor events have changed since the original bid, except one site, the speed skating oval, which has still not been chosen. Crucial agreements with the federal and provincial governments remain unsigned. Rumors abound of mis-handling and of incompetence within the organization. At the same time, senior organizers have made conflicting statements on the issues. The king of the political and all-time director of media relations, Jack Sharratt, last month drew criticism that the OCO "fired the messenger."

Yet despite the series of snags that seems to plague modern Olympics and with valuable time slipping away, there are signs that Olympic organizers are finally making progress. Construction of the Olympic Village is under way. An important agreement with the Canadian Olympic Association, essential to the group's fund-raising efforts and increased resonance involvement, was signed in September. Negotiations for television rights are in schedule and are expected to bring in at least \$175 million in net worldwide revenues. After months of agonizing delay, officials are more confident than ever that the contracts covering financial contributions, services and facilities with the federal and provincial governments are close to being signed. Moreover, OCO '88 appears to have come to grips with its communications problem, now promoting a much more open approach. Local television reporter Gary Babcock noted: "Six weeks ago we could not get a word out of them. Now every time they burst they call a news conference." Perhaps most importantly, Bill Pratt, 54, who was appointed OCO president in June, is stamping the organization with his leadership and managerial style. Pratt, despite a few public gaffes, is emerging as the man in charge, while OCO Chairman Frank King, whose combative reaction to criticism has turned more than helpful, is moving into the background. "We are making

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the transition," Pratt told MacEachan. "The fact that there is a president here has led to a number of decisions being made."

The one decision that will preoccupy Calgarians for several months is the site of the popular men's Alpine ski event. In the original bid book, organizers said that they would stage the alpine events at Mount Spraywaterback. But after considerable criticism the venue was changed to Mount Allan. The Alberta government is paying for and is supervising Mount Allan's development. It is located only three kilometers from the province's proposed Kananaskis Creek alpine village in the Kananaskis Country Provincial Park, for which the province has been unable to find a private developer. With the exception of the men's downhill run, the five other runs are considered adequate for Olympic purposes. And although the current run mapped out for the men's downhill meets the International Ski Federation's minimum technical requirements, Canadian ski team members have been vocal in their criticism, contending that the run will be an embarrassment to Canada. Former team star Ken Read called it "Mount Shaky Mouse." And environmentalists are concerned that use of Mount Allan will endanger a herd of bighorn. As well, recreational ski groups suggest that the association will be unable to find the recreational skiing after the Olympics.

As a result, the Alberta government asked Ottawa to examine the possibility of shifting the downhill at Lake Louise. In fact National Park Last week a Citizens' Advisory Committee was formed to study the feasibility of staging the downhill at both sites, ruled in favor of Mount Allan because choosing a site in a national park would violate a commitment made to the International Olympic Committee. But IOC approval was conditional on use of a new downhill route mapped out a month ago by an IOC consultant and the presentation of environmental development strategy. Even then, committee chairman Michael Stimpson said that there was only a "high probability" that the route would be acceptable.

The former general manager of Calgary's Exhibition and Stampede and former project manager of the Saddledome, Pratt rarely jokes about the perils he ahead. Walking into a news conference last week to meet with a group of local reporters who have become increasingly cynical about the Olympic organization, Pratt said: "They tell me the fun would start four years from now. They did not tell me it would start this soon." Indeed, the problems encountered during the first two years indicate that the fun has just begun.

—GORDON LEECH in Calgary

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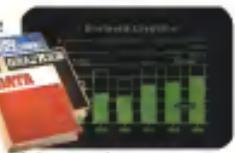
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# How drought engulfed a continent

By Shona McKay

In the dry ruins of Nefas, once a thriving city of 2,500 people in war-torn Ethiopia's northern province of Tigray, hundreds of gaunt peasants squat patiently in the dust. One by one, as a worker with the Ethiopian Relief Agency walks out names from a long list, hungry men and women rise to have their empty sacks filled with sorghum grain. The unlucky ones, those who never hear their names called, wait silently until the round of grain is gone. At a nearby, primitive mountain clinic, a 1½-year-old child with the body of an infant and a face aged beyond time hangs limply from his mother's arms. His family beating heart is visible through the translucent wall of his chest. A camp for displaced persons, three blind children suffering from malnutrition hold their heads at odd angles, or try to listen to faraway sounds. Throughout Africa, an area which has been plagued not only by war but by chronic drought for the past four years, the images are depressingly similar. And increasingly, these images are spreading across Africa.

In the northern half of the continent, from the frigid to the southern edge of the Sahara desert, across to Somalia in the east, the ravages of drought are extensive. Farther south they are just beginning. In some parts of southern Africa there has been no rain for two years. Where there has been rain, in such countries as Lesotho, Botswana, Swaziland and Zambia, the annual total has decreased by as much as 60 per cent. Africa is a continent of climate extremes, but the severe drought that has afflamed almost half of its land mass for the past two years is unprecedented in the 20th century. This year, as more crops fail, cattle die and thousands more people fall victim to malnutrition and protein-deficiency diseases, the alarm is spreading to the international community.

Last month the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), a division of the United Nations, released a report stating that without aid "the 22 countries reviewed faced the prospect of starvation and widespread human suf-



With drooping head and an emaciated child in Ethiopia afterration and sufficing

fering." In an impassioned appeal to representatives of 27 nations, including Canada, FAO Director General Edward Sackville called for immediate emergency assistance totalling 700,000 tons of food and \$11 million in funds to alleviate the "crisis." Facing at least five

of the countries—Ethiopia, Chad, Ghana, Malawi and Mozambique. He emphasized the need for immediate action but also focused attention on other African problems, such as political instability and poor farming techniques, which go beyond the scope of weather.

Canada has set up a task force to respond officially to the FAO report, but both the external affairs department and the Canadian International Development Agency are assessing the African situation. Said Norman Mandeville, an official with the Economic Relations with Developing Countries branch of External Affairs: "In the past, we have traditionally responded to emergency food situations. We will continue to do so." CIDA has increased its foreign-aid food budget by \$3 million this year, bringing Canada's total contribution to \$25 million. Last year, through bilateral agreements with individual governments and donations to the UN World Food Program and other international relief organizations, Canada sent \$89 million in food aid to Africa.

Canadian relief organizations are also focusing their attention on Africa. Said David Gallagher, an official with the Canadian Red Cross in Ottawa: "There is little point in making statements above and beyond the information made public by the FAO. What is needed is more money, and to that end we have been lobbying the Canadian government for more bucks." The Canadian Red Cross



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is launching an appeal for African aid across Canada this week.

In the short term, money will undoubtedly relieve the sharp edge of hunger in Africa. Measures there are still vivid of the drought that descended upon the Sahel and Ethiopia a decade ago, resulting in as many as 200,000 deaths from starvation. But such a toll is less likely. Said Ian McDonald, "We are much better off than in 1972. There are many more systems in place to cope with the situation." Still, there is a growing realization that emergency aid is merely a bandage over Africa's deeper wounds. The drought is the main reason that normally fertile Black Africa has had no appeal for food aid for half its 70 million people, but it may other constraints the two-year dry spell is just another contributing factor to a long-standing food production crisis.

Kenya and South Africa have modeled their farming on western models, but many African nations still adhere to primitive agricultural techniques. Said Orfan's Gallagher: "This system provides people with a subsistence living when conditions are normal. Under drought conditions, it means they face starvation."

Another problem is that the fertile land in many African countries is used to produce export commodities, such as coffee, sugar and rubber, instead of food for local consumption. For instance farmers in many parts of Africa worked an area of land for just two or three years, then moved on and left it fallow for several years while it regained its fertility. But now the land is scarce, and farmers have the same plots year after year without the benefits of fertilizers and other modern techniques. And all these problems are aggravated by the African hepatitis, which has been climbing by roughly three per cent annually, while food production growth by only 1.5 per cent.

Kenya is the most glaring example of an area where people are reeling under both drought and war. The Ethiopian government has been requesting assistance from the European Economic Community, the United States and Canada, among others, for its three million people suffering from drought conditions. But the country's lack of roads and continuing warfare in the northeast hamper food distribution. "The situation in Africa requires a lot of hard work to remedy," said McDonald. "It will only be solved at all if African nations are willing to make some difficult political and social choices." For many Africans who'll rework a daily diet of unending horror, those choices will be made too late.

With David Kipen in Nairobi



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## The Greening of Canada



West German Greens marching to Parliament. The party is organizing in Canada

**W**hen West Germany's new parliament convened in April, its 37 newly elected members from the Green party marched through Bonn, some of them peaceably, some shouting and others shouting and shouting. Many conventional newspapermen were surprised at what they saw. Mercedes-Benz chauffeurs met way outside at the 1980-style stoppers with their environmentalist, antipollution ideals. But the Green movement is more than a driven, leftist Right-Left, like 48, 28 West German architects. "It is the only way to survive," he said last week in Tasmania, where he joined protests against the cruise missile. Stokke had come to Canada to lend support to the fledgling Green movement in this country, which began with the formation of a party in British Columbia last February. Since then, new pockets of the party have expanded across the nation, representing an estimated 4,000 members in Alberta, Manitoba, Ontario and Quebec. And next week the federal party's first conference will take place in Ottawa.

The Green movement's ecological ideals spring from the pacific and environmental movements of the 1970s. There are now Green or other similar ecology-conscious parties in Western Europe, the United States, Australia, Mexico and Japan. Apart from strictly environmental issues, the Greens advocate an end to the arms race and what they call the "aggressive consumer society." Relatively economic expansion should be replaced by a philosophy of self-sufficiency, they argue. "That is how we differ from other political parties in Canada," said Dr. Trevor Hasecock, a Toronto physician and

spokesman for the 400-member Ontario Green party.

Hasecock maintained that in Canada the party does neither right nor left politically but is an ecological "It disagrees with both business, big government and big government," he said. Green politicians also insist that they are not advocating a return to the bush in order to achieve a sustainable postindustrial society. But they argue that planners must recognize the limits of the planet. Said Barry Nickerson, 41, the Greens' first nominated federal candidate: "How much farther can we push our environment before the whole system buckles?"

Still, critics of the Greens were not surprised when Nickerson picked up just 1.2 per cent of the popular vote in British Columbia's Aug. 25 byelection in Mission-Port Moody, which Conservative Gary St. Germain won. The Green's biggest problem, according to some critics, is that it is a single-issue party. Ontario NDP Leader Robert Rae declared truly, "Green parties in Canada will never survive."

So far, the Greens are officially recognized as a political party in British Columbia and at the federal level. Organizing drives are under way in most provinces. But the Atlantic region has proved more difficult for organizers. "It is going to take a while," said Green spokesman Philip Burgess in Halifax. "Merchants are pretty tight buns, and it is hard to convince them that the Greens offer as much to the sustainably old redheaded farmer as it does to the wild-eyed hippie mill flaking 'peace signs.'

—SHANNON BARRETT in Toronto

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# VOLKSWAGEN

## A reprieve for DeLorean

**A**fter a year of legal bickering and three postponements, the trial of automaker and alleged cocaine smuggler John Zachary DeLorean was finally about to begin, on May 3. But last week CBS-TV news aired a selection of Federal Bureau of Investigation video tapes, supplied by U.S. publisher Larry Flynt, which form the heart of a federal case against him. As a result, DeLorean won a new reprieve. Said Los Angeles attorney Howard Wasserman: "My client has been denied forever the chance of a fair hearing. This is an outrage." Judge Robert Takemoto, who was set to preside over the trial this week and whose at-

tempts to prevent CBS from showing the tapes were quashed by higher courts, agreed that the network's "interference" could be "devastating." Said the judge: "Hopefully, this is not a mortal blow."

Holden TV's attorneys recorded the tapes, which touched off the latest DeLorean legal storm, in a Los Angeles hotel room a year ago. They show grainy black-and-white images of DeLorean parking at plastic bags of \$58 million worth of cocaine in an open suitcase. DeLorean's voice is the sound track: "Better than gold." Federal prosecutors allege that the cocaine deal was DeLorean's last desperate bid to save his crumbling Northern Ireland automobile company. The tapes then show Gerald West of the FBI entering and saying: "Hi, John. You are under arrest for narcotics violation."

The CBS newscast left U.S. lawyers and lawmen equally bewildered: How did the FBI's videotapes fall into Flynt's hands? Why did the publisher of Hustler magazine pass them on to the United States' biggest TV network free of charge? One explanation is that Flynt has a personal grudge against the federal authorities because of a police raid on his plush Los Angeles mansion some years ago. Flynt also has publicly supported DeLorean's claims of FBI entrapment. He said that he bought the tapes from "a guy who said they came from the FBI." Thus Flynt and the man gave the material to CBS in exchange for promises to air a documentary on his troubles with the law, continue Larry Flynt and the First Amendment, the reason the existence of such deal in another development last last week. Flynt released an videotape of a conversation in which a government witness in the case allegedly threatened DeLorean's family, and DeLorean's defense lawyer recalled that a year ago to \$3 million from individual investors that was earmarked for the DeLorean car was secretly deposited in a Swiss bank account. Then it was transferred to the Chase Manhattan Bank, in New York, in DeLorean's name.

Meanwhile, CBS indignantly rejects charges of interfering with the judicial process. Said Vice-President Gene Matos: "Not only was the story newsworthy but the facts already had been widely reported in the press." Media commentators, who generally support CBS, point to the 1979 Abacaus Affair, in which congressmen were videotaped accepting bribes from ran agents disguised as Arab oil sheiks. Even though those tapes appeared on TV before trial, the prosecution still managed to win its case. Judge Takemoto says that he hopes to bring DeLorean's case to trial in January. It will be his fifth attempt.

—WILLIAM BOBBIN/Los Angeles

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## LAW

# A definition of obscenity

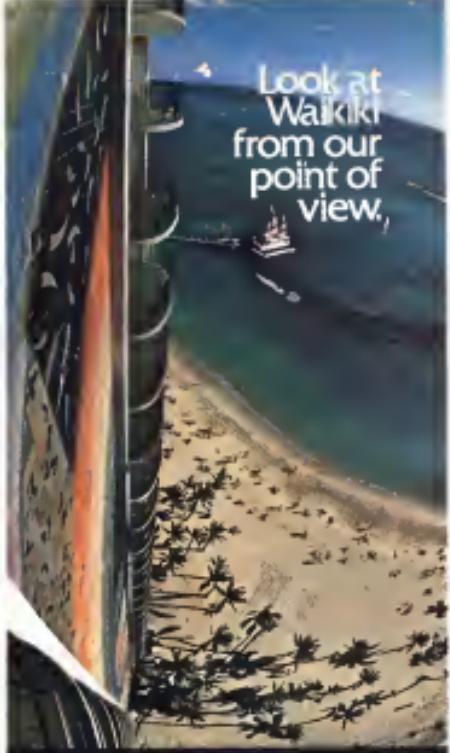
By ruling last week that all out of the 28 videotapes in a test case were obscene, a Toronto judge could have a major impact on the legal definition of obscenity in Canada. In announcing his judgment, York County Court Judge Stephen Burns said that he believes the community will tolerate depictions of an array of sexual acts, provided they are not overly explicit, but that it will not accept sex combined with degradation, dehumanization and violence. Burns' decision will be an important precedent if there is no successful appeal. Said defense lawyer Edward Greenup: "It has come as close, I think, as a judge can to establishing guidelines." Greenup added that he likely will not appeal the ruling. Noted Crown attorney Peter DeJarn: "It is the first trial, as far as I know, to deal with sex and violence together. Previously, obscenity trials dealt only with under-exploitation of sex."

Filmmakers greeted the ruling enthusiastically. Janice Andrews, a West Vancouver housewife and pornography activist, said that the ruling was "nothing short of brilliant." Andrews, a major figure in the battle against pornography, was disappointed about the province's first video pornography-obscenity nomination last May involving a Red Hot outlet in Victoria. Her reason was that Provincial Court Judge Durnell Collins made only passing references to acts of degradation and crassly on the tapes. Said Andrews: "Burns' ruling is a giant step forward."

Meanwhile, "adult" videotape distributors and retailers also were pleased that the judge ruled that a majority of the immensely popular tapes were not obscene despite their explicit content. Said Terry James, an acting chairman of the 31-member Ontario Video Retailers Group: "It is something we needed. We wanted guidelines."

But the judgment may be premature, at least in Ontario. The Ontario government currently is polling voters about their attitude toward obscenity. And the province will soon decide whether it should classify or censor pornographic videotapes for home viewing. Clearly, Burns' decision has not settled concerns about the products.

—PATRICK BLUCHY in Toronto



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# The chains lose a round



Kenneth Thomson (left) and deputy chairman John Tory unopposed

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**I**t was only a preliminary skirmish in the battle between the federal government and Canada's two largest newspaper chains, but both sides claimed victory last week. After a seven-day pause in the unprecedented trial of *Postmedia Newspapers Ltd.* and *Southern Inc.*, an Ontario Superior Court judge dismissed five of six anti-monopoly charges and ordered sweeping changes after the Canadian investigation Am Bar. Mr. Justice William Anderson allowed the central conspiracy charge to stand and the case will resume.

The Marchionne trial began on Sept. 19 after the government charged that the two media giants had participated in an unlawful conspiracy that effectively wiped out newspaper competition in four Canadian cities and eliminated about 1,745 jobs. In his three-hour reading of the judgment, Anderson agreed with some defense arguments but ruled that there was sufficient evidence to proceed with the trial on two conspiracy charges and one count of unlawful merger.

The events that led to the long and complex antitrust trial started with the FTI. *Postmedia Newspapers Ltd.*'s closing of *The Montreal Star* on Sept. 26, 1979 (Thomson later bought FTI). The shutdown left Montreal with one newspaper, Southern's *The Gazette*, which acquired the *Star's* printing plants and other assets. On Aug. 27, 1980, Thomson closed the Ottawa Journal and Southern shut

down the Winnipeg Tribune. At the same time, Southern took control of both Vancouver dailies, *The Province* and *The Star*. The success left Southern with an effective monopoly in Vancouver, Ottawa (*The Citizen*) and Montreal, and 21 more cities. Winnipeg will be the *Free Press*.

The judge gave the two companies some room for mild retribution by dismissing two monopoly charges resulting from the closure of the *Montreal Star* and the shutdown of the *Winnipeg Tribune*. He also dismissed all charges, including a conspiracy count, against the *Star's* previous owner, Dr. R. H. Angus, for failing to disclose that the decision to close the paper had been made before an agreement with Southern's *The Gazette* to acquire the *Star's* printing assets and other assets.

Anderson ruled that the *Star's* death "was already ordained by forces other than the agreement." Anderson also dismissed two of three charges of unlawful merger, ruling that Southern did not acquire a functioning business when the *Star* closed. And he ruled that competition in Vancouver appeared to be "as vigorous as ever."

With the nature of the charges resolved, the defense was to begin presenting its case this week and the trial could last until Christmas. Then Anderson will be asked to render nothing less than the question of whether a newspaper's right to close a losing business is overruled by the right of the public to a competitive free press. □

# A subtle measure of alcohol abuse

By Hilary Mackenzie

**D**uring a routine visit to his family physician last month, a 37-year-old Ottawa schoolteacher was surprised when the doctor asked her to take part in a new computerized test to detect the accumulated effects of long-term alcohol consumption. He had never thought of himself as an alcoholic and he agreed. But the results forced the astounded teacher, who has requested anonymity, to face a cold fact: she had a drinking problem. He admits that because of two emotional setbacks—death in the family and separation from his wife—he had been drinking "more than I had ever before." Now, he is concentrating on reducing his alcohol intake and he is pleased that the test forced him to confront reality. But civil libertarians are raising concerns that such a simple test could be open to widespread abuse, particularly by law enforcement agencies interested in tracking down drinking habits.

Doctors can use the Brief Alcohol Rating Scale, or BARS, to detect alcoholism even when the patient denies having a problem, says its designer, Dr. K. Raef Baker, a physician in neurology at the Royal Ottawa Hospital. The process is still in a testing stage, but Baker expects that within three years BARS will be used as a mass screening device and become a routine part of any annual medical checkup. It has the advantage of detecting signs of a dangerous level of alcohol consumption before it causes serious damage, Baker said. There has been a tendency in the medical community to regard alcoholics as being "at the end of the line where no treatment was possible," said Baker, because doctors often do not detect the problem until damage to the liver is too severe. Patients' reluctance to admit to drinking large quantities, even when their alcohol-related problems at home and at work, also makes detection difficult.

Unlike previous tests for alcoholism, this one does not rely on the patient to provide a history of his drinking patterns. There is a simple three-part quiz based on a short checklist of past medical problems which does not mention alcohol, a physician's examination, and a detailed blood test. The patient answers questions dealing with such things as smoking, memory difficulties and whether he has had a hangover since the age of 18. The answers have a numerical value, and when the computer takes

the results, it gives a score on the scale to show the effect that alcohol has had on the patient's body. The scale breaks the results into five categories of alcohol effects—none, mild, moderate and severe. That classification system alone is a breakthrough because the definition of an alcohol problem until now has been entirely subjective, said Dr. Seelye Smith, the Royal Ottawa's psychiatrist-in-chief, who has worked closely with Baker in the development of BARS. Added Smith, "An cynical put it, an alcoholic was anyone who



Baker detecting the early warning signs so that patients can seek treatment

drink more than his doctor.

Among the telltale signs that Baker looks for is a "mark of inattention," a red mark below the neck which he says appears after three to five years of steady drinking as it stays for life even if a person stops drinking entirely. Other bodily signs are "spoon flesh" on the side of the neck and palm-sized skin on the upper arms. Numerous dental cavities and bad gums are linked to "heavy drinking over a longer period of time," Baker added.

The key role for BARS, and its developer, is to help doctors detect early warning signs so that the patient can change his lifestyle or seek treatment. Smith believes that there are other, far-reaching applications, including its use as a screening process by personnel managers, employment agencies and transportation and insurance companies, among others. He admitted that such uses would introduce a variety of privacy questions but he maintained that there are sufficient controls in place to keep such information confidential. To Baker, the test "is no more invasive than a blood test" proved positive for syphilis. It is the doctor's and patient's responsibility to look after the information.

Still, the availability of a 15-minute test to assess the effects of alcohol on a person does raise ethical questions

Said Ottawa civil rights lawyer Lawrence Greenpon, "If an employer used the test results as a discriminatory screening mechanism in hiring, then it would be a gross invasion of a person's privacy." A February amendment to the Canadian Human Rights Act which makes it illegal to discriminate on the grounds of a person's infirmity would include alcoholism, Greenpon said.

But Health and Welfare Canada now estimates that the number of working Canadians with alcohol-related problems is about 1.5 million. Any easy employer would welcome an infallible test for alcohol abuse. Whether or not employers would agree with the Ottawa teacher, who is thankful that his doctor asserted his problem, is a matter that Greenpon and others undoubtedly will pursue vigorously. □

# A charge of neglect

Newfoundland's aborigines are a constitutional anomaly. When the province joined Confederation in 1949, Ottawa provided no special status for its Inuit and Indian populations. As a result, unlike native communities in the rest of the country, they fall under provincial jurisdiction. Now, the release of a travelling physician's report detailing widespread living conditions among Labrador's 2,700 coastal natives has raised serious concern about the viability of that system. Is what health experts are calling a "scathing indictment" of government neglect, Dr. Kathryn Wotton documented a native rate among 15- to 21-year-olds at 18 times the national average. Infant mortality and violent deaths were five times as frequent as the average elsewhere in the country and about twice the rate for other natives in Canada.

Wotton's report, which she compiled for the Canadian Mental Health Association after working for two years in the



Labrador native: poverty, disease

area, is almost certain to lead to corrective action. Her figures are too alarming to ignore, and the area's native organizations — the NunatuKavut Management Corporation Association and the Labrador Inuit Association, among them — will have federal authorities to examine their behalf. Community worker Anthony Jenkins, the Indian land claims co-ordinator, for one, accused the province of showing an "Alabama-style intolerance" for the needs of its natives, and he called for urgent and drastic action from Ottawa. Specifically, Wotton reported a recent large increase in the numbers of violent deaths from all causes; most of them alcohol-related. And 50 per cent of the deaths of natives in Kainu, Labrador's largest native community, during 1985-86 were connected with violence, compared to 27 per cent during the same-year period from 1977 to 1980. The comparable figure for natives along the entire north coast of Labrador was 30 per cent and 21 per cent.

Scalable rates during the past two years were 17 times the national average and seven times the rate for native groups across Canada. Wotton blamed the problem on government's failure to involve the Inuit and Indians in a significant way in decisions affecting their lives. She singled out government resettlement programs that have

prevented the natives from participating in the traditional activities of hunting and fishing.

Since federal government officials gave Wotton's report to the media late last month, provincial politicians have responded, but they have not revised any plan for native initiatives. Dr. Peter Sandiford, who worked among Labrador natives for nine years until September, 1982, and the lack of action from the province "was to be expected." Until the Labrador natives assume control of their own lives, they will continue to be unhealthy, self-destructive people, said Sandiford, who left his post in Labrador after bitter disputes with provincial officials. He is now a consulting physician in the Northwest Territories.

In Ottawa, Dr. Lyall Black, assistant deputy minister in the medical service branch of health and welfare, said it was "fair to say that natives in the rest of the country are better off than those in Labrador." Federal authorities are uneasy about interfering in provincial matters, he said. But he added that Wotton's report will have a bearing on any decision to grant direct federal assistance to Labrador natives. As it is, Newfoundland retains jurisdiction, but the federal government provides supplementary financing through St. John's for health care, amounting to roughly \$1 million a year in a total budget of about 15 million. Premier Brian Peckford opposes any change in the jurisdictional arrangement because the province wants to create a homogeneous Newfoundland society.

To Jenkins and other critics of the present arrangement, the problem is not the lack of concern of the federal government, he said, merely that Labrador's Inuit and Indians are excluded from what he called the most "enlightened" preventive health programs that Ottawa offers to natives in other parts of Canada. Such programs include education in nutrition and prevention of maladies familiar with medical terms and local languages.

The Labrador native associations have applied to the federal government for years for direct funding for new health programs. Now, the mounting pressure surrounding Wotton's report may convince health and welfare officials to approve the grant. If that happens, provincial authorities could see it as unprecedented federal intervention in Newfoundland's affairs. And Sandiford, for one, believes that even if a grant is forthcoming, it is just a beginning to solving extended social problems among Labrador's natives. "It is a step," said Sandiford, "but let's face it, a small step."

—ROBSON WOODWARD in St. John's



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## Keeping the faith

Calgary's Dennis Goodwin, 25, was brought up in the United Church but she says she stopped attending "because I was old enough to say, 'No.' I'm not going anymore." But years later, Goodwin and her 22-year-old husband, Kenneth, who had since left the church, recently completed eight

hours of religious instruction at Calgary's St. David's United Church and resumed regular church attendance. This made Goodwin determined to return the church to its former status for their own children to have, as Goodwin's mother, Dennis Goodwin, "We felt our daughter should have an opportunity to get into

grounding. It gives her something to be involved in." Mr. Goodwin represents an increasing number of young Canadian couples who are returning to the church of their parents because they see the need for their own children to have, as Goodwin's mother, Dennis Goodwin, "We feel our daughter should have an opportunity to get into

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**One result of the mini baby boom is that young parents are going back to church. But it may not be permanent**

down baptisms a month for new parents willing to make their own commitment to the church. Sunday school attendance at the church has grown to 380 from 350 over the past two years, and, according to Kline, very few parents now just drop off their children for an extra hour of sleep. He said that he believes the greatest benefit is the parents as well. Added the minister, "It is one less inconvenience that they have to do in life."

New parents seem to agree. Although total attendance at Canadian churches is down 20 per cent in the past 20 years, the recent mini baby boom has generated some new interest. Said Dr. Raymond Curry, head of the sociology department at the University of Manitoba, "It is a common piece of sociological information that as people have children, that is when they go back to church." Another person who has recently returned to Kline's church is Karen Banasik, a 29-year-old new mother. She is taking Kline's baptism class program. Said Banasik, "I chose to because I could not hope to justify to my daughter why she was baptised and had no go to Sunday school, if I was not

involved." Banasik said she wanted eight-month-old Kimberly "to have every chance to make her own decisions about religion when she's older. People turn to the church when they are lonely, sad, troubled. In the beginning, she might not even know that avenue was open."

Emphasis on family life may, in fact, be partly responsible for the gains in membership that evangelicals say. Protestant churches are making up the mainstream churches, according to their adherents. Calgary's First Alliance Church is growing at the rate of 10 percent a year, its members family Bible hours and services attend are filled to capacity. Field Pastor Wendell Greaty, "People who come from other churches say that they like the church because of its Biblical emphasis on the family. Biblical teachings are teaching the evangelicals much more than the others, but we are maintaining a stronger Biblical position regarding the family." Miriam Chester, the church's pastor of education, visits many new mothers and she says that she sometimes experiences "half-hearted" commitments to the church strengths with parentheses.

University of Lethbridge sociologist Reginald Bibby documented the new parents' return to the church in a paper that he will present in November to the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion in Knoxville, Tenn. Bibby, who conducted extensive national religious surveys in 1975 and 1985, has continually studied a core group of 1,000 Canadians since 1975. He found that less than three per cent of new parents with no religious affiliation in 1975 remained without one during the period. But 19 per cent of the group that did acquire religion married during the same period, compared to only two per cent of those who remained nonbelievers. Bibby disputed the evangelical contention that their family orientation attracts converts. Said Bibby, "It is not a dramatic religious conversion. They return to the religious affiliation of their parents."

Bibby also said that the new parent movement back to the churches may be temporary. He added that the new converts do not remain loyal, and in the long term, he does not expect the new trend to offset the decline in church attendance. He declared that if new parents did not have a church upbringing, they generally do not feel the need to return to church for their children's sake. With weekly church attendance among young people aged 15 to 25 down to 16 per cent, according to Bibby's survey, he projects that it will take only 10 years before churchgoers decline to 16 per cent of the general population, down from 35 per cent in 1985.

—STEVEN SWANSON in Calgary, with  
Sharon Doyle Drechsler in Toronto

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# The fierce realities of the street



Toronto police on a street patrol take of ordinary men doing dangerous jobs

**THE BLUE WALL: STREET COP IN CANADA**  
By Carlton Straud  
(McClelland and Stewart,  
224 pages, \$19.95)

Lies under the frosty red spot lighting for bags and grainaries can be seen in cartoon-like clarity. Armed with a notebook, a tape recorder that quickly shattered and a break for parking close to the action, Straud, an award-winning Toronto journalist, spent a year listening to policemen and women describe their jobs as he accompanied them into some of the most dangerous dark alleys in the country. He courted for the most part in the off-the-record world—tight, profane parlance worthy of Raymond Chandler. *The Blue Wall* is a brilliantly reported eye-to-eye view of the street, and the dilemmas facing the people in blue as they try to control it.

Straud contends that Canada's street police are badly misunderstood. But re-education and management, the cops (and the writer himself on several occasions) must explore the abuse of power and media criticism. As well, says Straud, many educated, wealthy Eu-

ropean hate the police for not having bloodlessly wiped out the violent crime waves of the 1970s. He argues that the police seldom spill blood and that a new class of "tough," teenage psychopaths who kill for kicks and then leave nothing, has made the job of eliminating crime more difficult. As a Toronto beat officer explains, "A cop is at war and at home at the same time.... Police, like soldiers are like soldiers in an army of competitors."

The police in *The Blue Wall* concentrate on controlling the territory that they know best, the street. Straud leaves no doubt to the imagination as he depicts the seedy realities he encounters. He tags along behind his reluctant beat patrol, Toronto's Bay Street, where lawyers and politicians pick up male prostitutes, and Vancouver's Davie Street, where they lead an orderly crew away from a 14-year-old prostitute. Straud brings to life a defiance, and, loosely, alcohol-dependent, other-worldly—strangely vibrant and classily kind—writers' world of law enforcement officials with reality.

Often Straud's own reactions to what he sees and hears surprise him, despite his liberal intentions. He wants to illuminate a young cop who pulls a knife in an unbroken rage. Later, he makes a moving case for gun control in a chapter that traces the history of a 30-calibre Colt semi-automatic from its manufacture in a Connecticut firearms plant to

1934 to the dingy restaurant basement where an ex-con used it to kill Toronto Const. Michael Sweet in 1980. The crime Straud witnesses rough up his emotions, but the voices of the dozens of officers whom he interviews are more stable. They resent taking orders and resenting their guns as threats ("A stark guy pulls a gun just for a fight," says one), they look up to their partners, and they "do the job no matter how much their emotions rock them." "Safety is only one really important thing to remember on this street," says Hart, a pseudonymous beat policeman who patrols Toronto's Yonge Street. "And that is to always know precisely what the hell is going on." Their reason for doing so is sometimes finding that their lives have made a difference.

*The Blue Wall* may offend liberal sensibilities. It is not a doctrinaire book. Straud is too honest a reporter and writer to allow knee-jerk reactions. He simply respects what he sees and bases in the best traditions of journalism. He accuses his subjects against the reality of the streets that they frequent, avoiding mere theories of what criminal behaviour really means and how enforcement ought to treat it. In the book's only description of stereotyped police brutality, a Winnipeg major crimes detective pounds an Indian who was blocking the doorway of a dangerous bar. He rationalizes, "There's only one thing left that these people respect, and that's power.... I treat them like men, like they were heroes." Straud's reporting is occasionally too moralistic, but that tendency stems from the book's straightforward intention to simply portray neither policeman—"neither a saint nor a brute, but merely an ordinary man doing something extraordinarily adult and dangerous with all the skill and heart he can deliver."

Straud would have his readers believe that Canadian policing abhors responsibility and authority and are an amoral, nihilistic, corporation of both. *The Blue Wall* makes a reverent and hot pressuous case for letting Canada's police officers use the authority that they possess. As a Montreal armed robbery defendant observes, "Society has to give the will to protect itself. You have to think that you have something worth protecting, even if you feel the guy attacking you gets a raw deal." Anyone who thinks otherwise, Carlton Straud submits, can say goodbye to certification.

—TOM BROWN

# High tech as big business

**KNIGHTS OF THE NEW TECHNOLOGY**  
By David Thomas  
(Key Porter Books, 182 pages, \$19.95)

A instant success story deserves an instant book. Is just ten years Canadian computer and telecommunications firm—a so-called "high tech"—firms have astounded international renown. Last spring, just when their good fortune appeared endless, journalist David Thomas interviewed the industry's reigning knights in order to chronicle the new silicon-chip establishment. But instant success can easily turn to instant failure, although Canadian high tech may rebound after its recent downturn, which will overtake vintage Knight of the New Technology.

The eight chapters chronicled in *Knights* range from company histories of such giants as Northern Telecom, Mitel and T.P. Engle to a chapter against the valiant service Telidon and its parvenu, Infowest. The book also includes sociological musings on Kanata, the Ottawa suburb that has become the fertile hotbed of Canadian high tech. But when their shiny technological armor is stripped away, the knights appear uniformly well intentioned—and dull. The flamboyant exception is Mitel President Michael Coopland, a tennis fanatic who staffs his company with beautiful women and his parking space with fancy cars. Still, all the entrepreneurs display that special combination of logic and bright peculiar innovative engineers, along with unflattering frankness and confidence in what to develop next. Dismally, as is the case with Stephan Demers, founder of both Blooms and AXIS, the world's third- and fourth-largest word processing manufacturers, the story is truly dramatic. But for the most part, Knights recounts roll-of-the-dice business deals, and discussions of the technology itself were often inadequate to overly complex.

Hobbyists pre-business, Thomas develops the highest Canadian high-tech story of 1983: Mitel's failure to deliver its most important new product, the 80-8000, in 1980. He abhors government at all levels, as evident contradictions because many of the firms in describes would never have existed without government aid and intervention. When government fails, he shrugs. By presenting such a slanted perspective, he has done those he wants to serve most a grave disservice.

—MARK CRAMERICK



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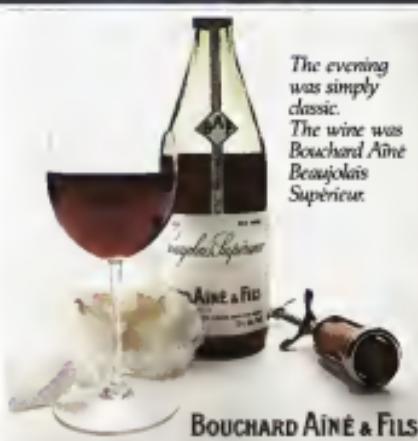
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## Sex and the gentle satirist

CANADOLE: A PATRIOTIC SATIRE  
By Eric Nicol  
(Macmillan of Canada,  
182 pages, \$17.95)

Commentators on Canadian humor have often called it "gentle"—dressing it with apologetic praise, then lamenting its lack of sting. Canadian satire—when done successfully—isn't to upset people, says Eric Nicol. He has practiced that style for 40 years, winning many thousands of loyal fans and three Leacock Medals for Humor along the way. But he has rarely managed to work himself up to the level of meanness that an effective satirist needs. The governing in *Canadole*'s subtitle, Nicol makes a point not only of telling his readers that his book is a satire but also measuring them: it is a qualified one.

*Canadole* chronicles the career of Martin Richard, a snafu from British Columbia whose major qualification for a job in Ottawa is his name, which is both bilingual and unforgettable. His career begins after his troubles as a mixed cabinet minister and a volup-tuous oil lobbyist, she claimed only in cowboy boots and spurs, performing variations on a theme in a hotel room. The minister appoints him executive assistant in charge of not doing anything. He does that with consummate and often hilarious ineffectiveness as he meanders through a version of the Greta Garbo sex-and-app affair, into the far flung where it may in the Newfoundland bush, and chase the Shifting States and Margaret Trudeau to New York.

What old-time Nicol fans may find unsettling in *Canadole* are the lavish descriptions of sex, a subject on which Nicol has generally been silent throughout his public career. Executive assistant Richard scores no assistance in the bedrooms of the nation. She is surprisingly, indeed amazingly, talent in describing his character's foibbles and passions. At one point, Richard off-handedly explains why he is careful not to tie up a girlfriend too tightly: "I read somewhere that one can cut off the circulation and cause permanent injury. How would I explain that to the woman's family and friends?" We were just enjoying an amorous interlude when ghosted out. I would never have suspected it if I had known that it meant amputation.

"Patent leather attire, gentle beretage, Nicol still cannot go all the way. But *Canadole* is fresh and funny, which makes it easy to forgive its author for not having a stroller streak.

—STEPHEN BARKER

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## A legacy of beer and good manners

THE MOLARIS MAGA THIS-100

By Shirley E. Woods, Jr.  
(Contributor, *SDS Report*, \$7.50)

Bonnie Shirley E. Woods set out to research a history of the Malone brewing family, to write to parchment Senator Hartland Malone (fifth generation) to ask permission. The senator granted it—provided that Eric Malone (sixth generation and current Deputy Chairman of the company) approved. The younger Malone did, and when Woods warned him that he planned to write the story “warts and all,” Malone responded doubt that he could find any. Malone was right.

After 20 years in law, distilling, shopping, banking, insurance, professional basketball and various other enterprises, and after surviving rebellions, fires, floods, and other misfortunes, the Melsons still remain among us—quietly. It is difficult to believe that any family could be as nice for two generations. The six grandchildren produced a son, an equal amount of money, a few more real estate titles, some family gifts—and one insurance claim. He was Marjorie Melson's, a new passenger in the family who lost his money and re-created to Oregon in 1957, identified with his first cash from his brother, and by his brother's influence, became his boss and his heir.

The closest any of the family came to scandal was Stated, Fred's second son, who was not invited into the brewery because of his "happy go lucky" sister. He lost his money in the 1921 Beaumarais Power scandal but was not personally involved in the bribery and corruption. As in Markland's case, Stated's personal problems were more serious than his political career. After a 30-year career in the Quebec legislature caused him to transfer Jules Ménard in 1876, the family stayed clear of politics. Hartland Ménard rose to the Senate as an independent, but the family's star wavers through the history of Montreal. They are the quintessence of "old Montreal." Woods appraise them with appropriate deference.

John Moxing was born into a gentle farmer's family in Lancashire, England, in 1762, was orphaned at 8 and emigrated to Canada in 1782 for his health. The following January he was in the brewing business with a neighbor from Lancashire, John Lloyd. A few years later, returning from England where he had set up some family business, he

bought back two books which provide a clue to the family character. One was *Visions to Its Son* by the nonconformist Edward Chesterton, who presented descriptions to God and work and a somewhat sober attitude to women. The other was *Recreational Effects on an Improved Version of Bawming* by John Robinson, which provided useful tips for success, about no launch one of the

While the Molsons made beer and  
the Russells made tea, they tried many  
other enterprises before concentrating

but they did best. John the elder established the first numbered service station in Lawrence. He later tried distilling whisky. The family founded the First Bank, which, with the family's connections with the Bank of New England, provided both financial influence and family employment until the two banks merged in 1959.

oods chieftains in detail how the two and their great rival, National Lumber Co. Ltd., carved up the Quebec forest. The Moissons stayed out of Ontario until the 1930s, when Hartland

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and Thomas Molson managed to obtain a highly viable waterfront property portfolio owned by Canadian Breweries, whose president, R.F. Taylor, uneventfully signed the deed of sale himself. Other diversifications of dubious quality were eventually consolidated into the now successful Molson Industries. Farewell, pale and repulsive! The Montreal Canadiens earned one of the more serious family rifts between cousins, and photographs were discreetly removed from boardroom walls.

Woods has turned the Molson story into a history of Lower Canada, with the family providing the continuity. He tells as much about brewing, shipping, banking and the writing of wills as he does about the principals themselves. It required 900 cartons to move the Molson archive from Montreal to the Public Archives in Ottawa, and unfortunately, apart from the chapters on the exemplary war service of the Molsons, the main characters come across as cardboard at the curators. If Woods had sought to add more to the famous Molson enterprise, the MacLennan Brothers and later the inhabitants of Montreal's east end, Anglo-Westmount, his book would have been far more rewarding.

—ALAN ASHROW

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- 1 *Pinkie*, Whistler (2)
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- 3 *The Little Drummer Girl*, Gervais (2)
- 4 *Holiday Wives*, Collins (2)
- 5 *A Taste For Justice*, Colquhoun (2)
- 6 *Changes*, Strel (2)
- 7 *The Resurrection of Peter S.*, Smiley (2)
- 8 *Christians*, Klop (2)
- 9 *The Wicked Day*, Stewart (2)
- 10 *White Gold*, Winkler, Donleau (2)

### Nonfiction

- 1 *In Search of Excellence*, Peters and Waterman (2)
- 2 *Magistrate*, Nasoff (2)
- 3 *The Root of James Bond*, Heriot (2)
- 4 *Visions of Eagles*, Pallett (2)
- 5 *The Price of Power*, Aycock (2)
- 6 *The Last Lion*, Manchester (2)
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Khumbu icefall on Everest as subtle as a finger in the eye

## The gospel according to one

EVEREST CANADA: THE ULTIMATE CHALLENGE  
By Al Burgess and Jim Palmer  
(Shambhala, 211 pages, \$31.95)

During six perplexing weeks last fall a puzzled Canadian public watched a team of 18 climbers attempt to be the first Canadians to climb Mount Everest. The expedition was successful, and two Canadians reached the summit. But tragic events further down the mountain virtually overshadowed the triumph. Three Sherpa guides died in a massive avalanche, and a team of six collapsed, leaving Vancouver cameraman Blair Griffin. Shortly after the accident, six team members defected. For many, this left more questions than answers about the Canadian team's motives.

The author is most lucid on the defectors. He sketches a picture of March as a man shattered by guilt and remorse, reluctantly grappling with the issue of commando. According to Griffin, March, faced with a difficult assignment, adopted the stance of a self-commando and asked the rebels to leave immediately. March himself says that he made attempts to dissuade the defectors. The team, with the defector, Bill Burgess, suggests that March entrenched in his desire and simply communicated that.

It is not an entirely satisfying expatriate portrait. Burgess invariably depicts his actions and thoughts in earnest, and has thirdly valiantly sought to defend his actions. He has studied valiantly toward some team members weaken the account's credibility. His graft prose is ill-equipped to explore the tantalizing moral ambiguities that this defected team could have been. Burgess' book is clearly one of the best, and several team members have objected both publicly and privately to the book's frankness.

Of the many puzzling elements that arose from last year's climb, two stand out: were there errors in judgment that led to the deaths of the Sherpas, and why did six climbers leave? Burgess is

equivocal on the first question. He acknowledges that a crucial radio fail to range higher on the mountain, which leader Bill March controlled, would have warned of poor conditions and likely saved the lives of the Sherpas. But Burgess concedes that the clarity of hindsight makes any accusation unfair.

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Still, Everest Canada has an undeniably fascinating. Burgess' account is best approached as a glimpse of how brave men handle the strain caused by the deviation of a physically well-prepared, even cocky expedition into what climber Tim Anger called "Vietnam without a rifle." —THOMAS HOPKINS

LOOK MA...NO HANDS  
By Alastair Fotheringham  
(Key Porter Books, \$16.95)

**A** columnist is a writer with lots of ideas and a short attention span. Whether or not nature designed the extension as an evolutionary splinter, the necessity of thumb claws for climbing trees almost always leads to a tendency to climb in short bursts. In time, the fingers naturally ease drives to work beyond the usual column length and they will lift off the keys of their own accord. Of all those who practice the craft in Canada, Alastair Fotheringham is certainly the best-known and best-rewarded exponent. But the column discipline is poor preparation for book-length writing. Look Ma...No Hands, Fotheringham's "affectionate look at the Terra," has some elements that are funny, bright with insight and occasionally bitter. But the book is marred with the undesirable sound of labored breathing of a 300-yard race around the Boston Marathon.

What else can fatigue could account for such a poor effort? It is the usual Fotheringham standards. "It is a fauna full, a cat not only tripping but then falling off its own nose. Hissing shot himself in the foot." Similarly, on Joe Clark's controversial style: "There are embellishments, flourishes, reason clauses and ornamental bits-and-end to the latter feels as need of a Black and Decker buzz-saw to attack a Hampton Court coat of vestige in vain search for nuggets of sense."

In part, the book has a grueling look, as if it had another mission to be done with it, had received for whatever reason a second wind. The illustrations, some sharp and some dimpled, which are delightful, often larger and more knowledgeable, have irresistibly little paint. There are also questionable facts and judgments. Fotheringham asserts that a young Jim Clark arrived in Ontario, "just in time to witness John Diefenbaker in the triumph of the 1956 pipeline debate," which suggests, interestingly, that Diefenbaker played a major part in that debate. He says that Clark "displaced Standford to become the battered bunting of the Middle East," overlooking the fact that the Standford mission was an unqualified success.

Look Ma...No Hands is full of quirky judgments and debatable assertions, all of them stated with the utmost certainty. The author is not being cold. He feels as he likes to call himself, but he merely manages it. The distance does him in. —GEORGE BAIN

# A strategy for cultural revival

By Val Ross

**I**t was intended as an all-Canadian broadcast policy, but in style and content it was pure Hollywood—equal parts dream-spinning and hard-nosed accounting. Last week Communications Minister Pearson Fox, joined by Ottawa, Toronto and Montreal to release a code of ethics for Canadian television independent producers and accrediting Canadian content, announced that by 1989 the CBC will air an extra 250 hours of prime-time Canadian content every year. Meanwhile, to encourage independent producers to fill 50 per cent of the schedule, Fox will stimulate tax-shelter money and open up the CBC's facilities for them. Fox's fury of initiatives received an enthusiastic response from many of the industry's entrepreneurs. Richard Nielsen, chairman of Toronto's Freestyle Productions Ltd., said that he was pleased with "the long-overdue co-ordinated cultural policy, my only anxiety is that they implement it soon." But others were surprised that Fox did not much lay claim for more Canadian content with more money. CBC producer Michael Gurnett said, "He has cut off our legs and is going to graft on a foot."

Clearly, Fox had no choice but to restructure federal broadcast policy. Canadian broadcasters seem to have secured a range of US-style equals. To summarize a future for the industry, Fox had to offer answers in a wider context of Canadian content. His strategy is three-pronged. Fox complemented his announcements of increased Canadian content and support for the private sector with a new clarification of the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission's decision to increase the number of channels available to pay TV subscribers. Any new US channel coming onto cable will be "canned"—sold as a package with at least one new Canadian channel.



Peter Bernerfeld, Fox's new chief of the CBC's wounded empire

"which would place work on the heads of large independents in large cities." Even Nielsen voiced a fear that tiring pay TV channels would fragment and undermine existing markets.

Fox's support of the private sector was couched with the philosophy of the controversial Appelbaum-Hilbert cultural policy review committee. Indeed, Bernerfeld, last week's announcement came as "Appelbaum-Hilbert was kicking the back door." But Fox simply opened the CBC's front door to reveal that it is comfortable in place. Independent producers houses such as Atlantic Fibre Ltd. and Nalcorp Ltd.,

both of Toronto, have produced a large portion of the CBC's children's programming in the postwar Stan Rogers Melpick, director of independent production at the CBC. "We are delighted with the results. Children's programming has become the prototype for other ventures." And, the CBC's drama department has increased its involvement in coproductions with multi-national Jordan Blair and Nourad Mostafa Chahdoré. And, while some observers fear that independent coproducers will develop Canadian content in order to maximize foreign network sales, Melpick has no doubt. "Since much of a coproducer's funding will be from the public sector," he said, "there is a good negotiating base to guarantee Canadian content and quality."

The policy's designers are counting on the fact that the largest source of funding will be the year-month-old Broadcast Fund, with an average annual budget of \$50 million over five years. In order to qualify for no funding, independents must satisfy the fund's director—Peter Pearson, an unabashed nationalist—that the proposed product is genuine Canadian content, produced or based in Canada. The director will grant the producer one-third of the project costs if they can meet the content requirements; generate the remaining two-thirds of the investment from other sources, a promise of broadcast from a Canadian network. In half the approved proposals, that network must

and produce from a Canadian network. In half the approved proposals, that network must be the CBC. Last week Fox fine-tuned the fund's ability to stimulate production. Fox, he announced that producers may now take into account money from the fund when calculating their capital cost allowances for tax write-offs. And to qualify for a year's write-off, a producer need only have five per cent of the financing in place—rather than the previous 20 per cent.

But, coming only a week after the controversial departure of CBC Vice-

President Peter Bernerfeld, Fox's moves rubbed salt into the CBC's wounded empire. The minister sterilized the news and current affairs departments with his comment that, in the spring, he would amend the Broadcast Act to reflect the CBC's new mandate instead of offering a "selected slate of liberal appeal." Fox suggested that the CBC become "extremely partial to the success of Canada as a united country." While some media critics said that was federalist propaganda, CBC members preferred the other blow in Fox's package. Earlier this fall, before we thought that Fox could extract entire dollars from the public purse to match the Broadcast Fund without foregoing its own internal budgets further, but last week the minister made as reference to his apparent failure to raise more money. Instead, the CBC Board of Directors has been searching for cash inside the corporation itself. President Pierre Jassan believes that it can be found through increased cooperation between the English and French networks, streamlining and staff reductions.

Bet Jassan's plan to skim money from within the CBC strikes some observers as a precursor to this fall from boozes already here. Money is no source for some programs, such as the Emmy and Oscar award-winning *High Maintenance*, that production budgets have fallen behind inflation. Last week Fox said that he hoped new moves to strengthen the CBC's marketing arm would escape the depleted outlet by increasing foreign sales. In the past year, sales of programs such as the sitcom *Slings & Arrows* and the mini-series *Empire, Inc.*, have pushed gross sales revenues to \$5 million. But reliance on sales to surmount the CBC's finances strikes industry observers as a cruel joke when tight budgets reduce the number of programs for sale.

While public and independent producers wonder whether they should cheer or complain about the federal government's new plans, audience and stations are applying incentives to cable. Cable companies will be trying to sell their new combinations of all-hits, all-sports and all-music channels, while their TV guides will list intriguing specifics of homegrown music and drama. "This is a danger," admitted Michael Hirsh, vice-president of Networks, "that the industry could overheat, as it did in the tax-shattered boom days of film." For his part, the CBC's Melpick is convinced that the future promises creative fervour. "There are more good projects on my desk than we can accommodate," he said. Either way, the drama of cultural survival will dominate the world behind Canadian TV screens for years to come.

With Monica Read in Ottawa

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# A terrifying fate for the Earth

TESTAMENT

Directed by Lynne Littman

**T**estament is a rather dismal, even tasteless vision of the nuclear holocaust. But, with its sombering intent, it loses any sense of dramatic irony. In a way, the response to what may feel as indeed an impending reality is understandable: the notion of such a catastrophe may be too terrifying for most people to bear.

Testament looks a grim look at how we

of the film could have been the result of a demographic survey to find the only American family The Weatherby's (Mike Nichols, with a working father and mother (William Devane and June Alexander) and three children). The townspeople are fairly ordinary as well, with not a single black person in sight and only a token Japanese gas-station owner (Makoto) and his ungrateful son (Hiroaki) thrown in for good. Several minorities: The residents of Shasta stock up on bottled water and canned

drying from radiation sickness makes it easier to imagine more anger, hysteria and purely physical pain than Testament shows. Perhaps the director, Lynne Littman, and her screenwriter, John Stewart Young, felt that it was not necessary to dwell upon the grisly details—that suggestion horror was sufficient.

Viewers seeking a more accurate and gripping account of "the aftermath" might savor themselves in Jonathan Schell's excellent book *The Fate of the Earth*. With sobering fears in mind, the age-old exchange of a movie like Testament, which could sway doomsdayers and alert the ignorant, is a welcome one. But its tremendous deficits in own purpose, ABC has scheduled *The Day After*, a much more grisly version of the same story, to Nov. 30; it is ironic that television, which critics usually condemn for its amorality, is bypassing the safe route.

What Testament does have to its credit at times is kind of honest, in which an audience can gravitate. And the film makes some pertinent points about the importance of what people take for granted, even creatures comforts such as electricity and tap water. Yet one of the supposed dramatic highlights is Carol Whiteley fading a rat in her pantry, apparently one of the film-makers who spent much time around heating

test-tube environments where it is not necessary to add semi-mutant characters when no entire plant, fauna (including?) and other fatalities in place of stark observation. There is nothing to sentimentalize her mannerism, that is to say, to turn her into the embodiment of life on Earth—the entire concept behind Testament—is sentimental to begin with. To observe the darker side of human behavior is to make the most salient point, the quality of life is all the good and evil that life encompasses.

—LAWRENCE O'DONNELL



Dennis (right) with Ross Morris, meeting some of the dramatic *Nuclear Accountability* participants

American family seems to the fallout of such a holocaust, but the film-makers avoid the visceral effects. In Hamlin, a small northern California town about to expire slowly from radiation, the residents mostly bury the bodies. The audience does not catch more than a glimpse of the physical consequences of a nuclear blast—smoking, sores, massive bleeding and overall bodily deterioration. By choosing to eschew what happens in Hamlin, sometimes seems entirely wrong. Some lasting and startling damage, but most of what is known of human behavior (and all that is not known about the sheer terror of slowly

The road taken in Testament is a careful one, and the people at the centre

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Marisa Berenson is funnier and sexier than most of the cast.

## Slapstick and slaughter

DEAL OF THE CENTURY  
Directed by William Friedkin

In order to promote, conceive or even seriously consider a sense of community, one must make the ridiculous normal. If a cartoon writer about boiling babies and eating them—Jonathan Swift did, he can never for a moment suggest that he is normal. But the man who made *Deal of the Century*, a purported native of the same race, constantly allude to the fact that they are not serious. The sales of arms in developing nations by large corporate concerns—which could lead to war and slaughter—is a source of easy laughs for the filmmakers. Since the stars are aware that they are performing these acts, the material is reduced to its bare and mostly dakes two slapstick.

And what pally slogan? It's Cheeky Chase (who could probably never play a serious character without winking) is Eddie Manta, his old air force buddy Ray Kremenski (Gregory Hines) and Mrs. DeVoto conspire to make the sale. If they are successful, Danzig will likely start a war with Costa Rica, which in turn will bring new arms. The possibility for making great sums of money have global reach.

Screenwriter Paul Brickman (Hawkins Way) and Edie Baskin produce a first-rate slasher—gleefully and palely arms dealer, the sort of a disaster-thriller during an apocalypse—but director William Friedkin's timing is lame and his visual sense is basal. As he proved with *The French Connection*, *The Exorcist* and *The French Connection*, the Emo-Emo! lacks a light, even bane. Chase tries to get by on the goodwill he has established already with movie audiences. Winona is totally wasted, and Hines, crumpled by a subplot in which his character is born again, appears somewhat pained and fated by it all.

Still, the single-joke movie is something big business does love war and big business always controls the quality of life. The most令人惊讶 part of *Deal of the Century* is Ronald Reagan's announcing on TV, "We're not building missiles to fight a war; we're building missiles to preserve peace." In *Deal of the Century*, Reagan's brand of logic is funnier—and sadder—than anything else.

—LAWRENCE O'TOOLE

## Breaking out is hard to do

ALL THE RIGHT MOVES  
Directed by Michael Chapman

**A**ll the Right Moves, a decent, modest movie from a first-time director, is one of the first films to take a long, hard look at North America's current economic malaise. Set in the fictional steel town of Ambridge, Pa., the movie captures the desperation of a typically depressed modern community. Everybody in the town has one ambition—to get out—which for most of the male teenagers means winning a football scholarship to college. One of them, Boofie (Dwight Yoakam), wants to be an engineer, yet he knows that the only way to fulfill his ambition is to take his hard knocks on the gridiron. His girlfriend, Lisa (Linda Thompson), who dreams of writing music, is less lucky—she has no escape route at all. An air of desperation hovers over all the Right Moves like the song that keeps creeping down from the mill. Director Michael Chapman shot it in Johnstown, Pa., which has the highest unemployment rate in the United States, and the movie is more than melancholic.

Dramatically, All the Right Moves is set into motion when the Ambridge football team loses to another squad by one point, because of a pass-interference call against Steeler, Worse still, he insults the coach, Nickerson (Craig T. Nelson), who later catches him littering while a group of ruthless jocks littering the coach's house. Off the team, Steeler has a dog's hope of getting out of Ambridge and a career in the big, boom-almost-a-bust global market. In attempting to follow his heart back into the working-class grime, the movie takes an arduous, elementary route, although it does not stoop to the gregarious rough of the *Rocky* genre.

All the Right Moves is never completely satisfying as a narrative (it lacks complexity and emotional density), but there are other compensations. Chapman's directorial gifts in *Raging Bull*, *Fallen Angels* and *Indecent Obsession* bring some shrewd, restrained observation to the people and their town. Although the characters are not especially interesting in themselves, their performance is, and it is one that stands above those. The actors, including the likable Tom Cruise from *Risky Business*, can do little with the ordinary people they are obliged to play. But the movie provides a heavy measure of reality administered with sincerity and sympathy. Depressing as it is, All the Right Moves is, paradoxically, welcome.

L.O.T.

# Peace missions and polls

By Allan Fotheringham

**Z**oops! Dr. Fotheringham, I am compelled to drop into you today. Trudeau to articulate the planet-transcendental parameters if not perspectives of the amorphous abyss in your credulity.

Well, I can't seem to get my words on this off by the Prime Minister is preventing nuclear war all by himself?

Simple, my simple fellow. Mr. Trudeau has decided he wants to stay on as leader of the Liberal Party.

What's that got to do with nuclear war?

Nothing. Aside from the fact it may take a crane missile to dislodge him from his perch, he is attempting to project a lofty global image of himself. You mean to write the Model Peace Prize?

No, he would like the John Turner Defense Prize better. He has agreed to renounce his fraternal transatlanticity between Reagan and Anderson, the old man who has never met and is acting like a juvenile.

Well, isn't that a noble task?

Yes, if it had any chance of being accepted. It hasn't.

Because the Americans, especially encompassing Boston, regard us pretentious leaders as a tragic lout who does funny acts for photographs of the respective canasta. They think his attention span is somewhat shorter than the gestation period of an elephant.

But doesn't Washington like him because of his support to the feelings of the cruise on the *Republique* because of the pleasure where the buffaloes no longer roar and have been replaced by the Long-Haired Peasants?

He had to agree had no choice because the ultra-rightists in the White House threatened to revoke the auto pact and increase the number of MIA'SM return now threatening our expanded borders.

But I can't see how you can knock it for trying.

As you know, the alluring Dr. Foth-  
eringham knows our puritan leader bears in mind the magnificence of his awesome gifts.  
*Allan Fotheringham is a columnist for Southern News.*

of humility, and the good doctor wouldn't in this case if he believed that global considerations were the only things sufficing in the Trudeau credulity.

Are you suggesting he has ulterior motives?

Does Brian Mulroney have a plan? Hell, what goes on?

Mr. Trudeau, wobbling at the knees at the sight of a Galtap reading down around Encinoos Party levels, wants to have at the Canadian public a permanent contract between himself and Mr. Mulroney.

self and give himself, for future reference, a panacea of international knowledge. He went to Europe, he toured China. He visited Brazil.

What did Brazil do for him? Once he saw the raw mountains full of iron ore that will be the new cheap world source, he shut down Schafferville.

Get serious. What's this got to do with Trudeau and the price of eggs?

Mr. Trudeau, in his last futile attempt to retain his perks, will be traveling abroad more this fall since he always enjoys being abroad more than striking his finger out of the tree in Quebec City.

He won't that increase his prestige or lower?

Not at all. Canadians at this point don't care whether Mulroney failed his school geography test in Blue Cross's fine institute for the Trudeau-Commonwealth all understanding. Mr. Russell could sail the Nile and sweep around the Kremlin in tatters, like Peter Pocklington's eighties soul, and it wouldn't make any difference. He could be given the first Canadian national and never compromise—an arrangement that would please most western Canadians markedly.

And what's that?

It is that he would like to elevate himself into a global personality, spreading between Moscow and Washington faster than a Goldberg poll, a Santa Claus who will bring us peace in our time before Christmas, a shuttle diplomat, a Kissinger with stinko. And?

And, by contrast, the Gibberals will try to paint Mulroney as just a simple little Maupin lawyer, just fresh from a hotel room after negotiating sessions.

Is Brian Mulroney really that inexperienced?

As a matter of fact, the silly dog is not. He has only been planning this and us Clark and the Tories for the past seven years and has done a little special preparation.

What do you mean?

When Mulroney got over his salts at losing to Joe in 1976, he decided to run again for the second assault. As president of Inco Co. of Canada, he had the excuse to travel and broaden horizons.

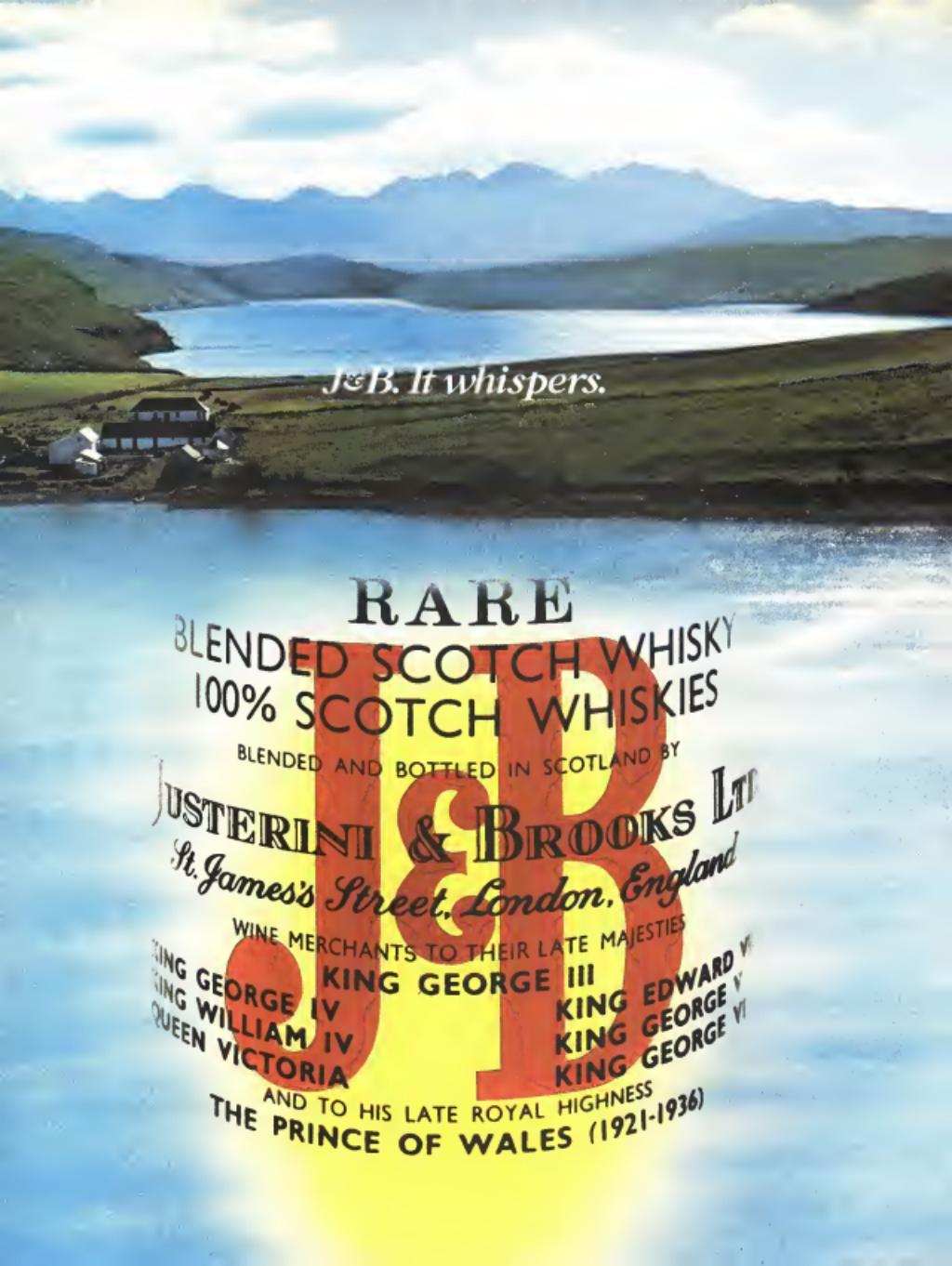


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